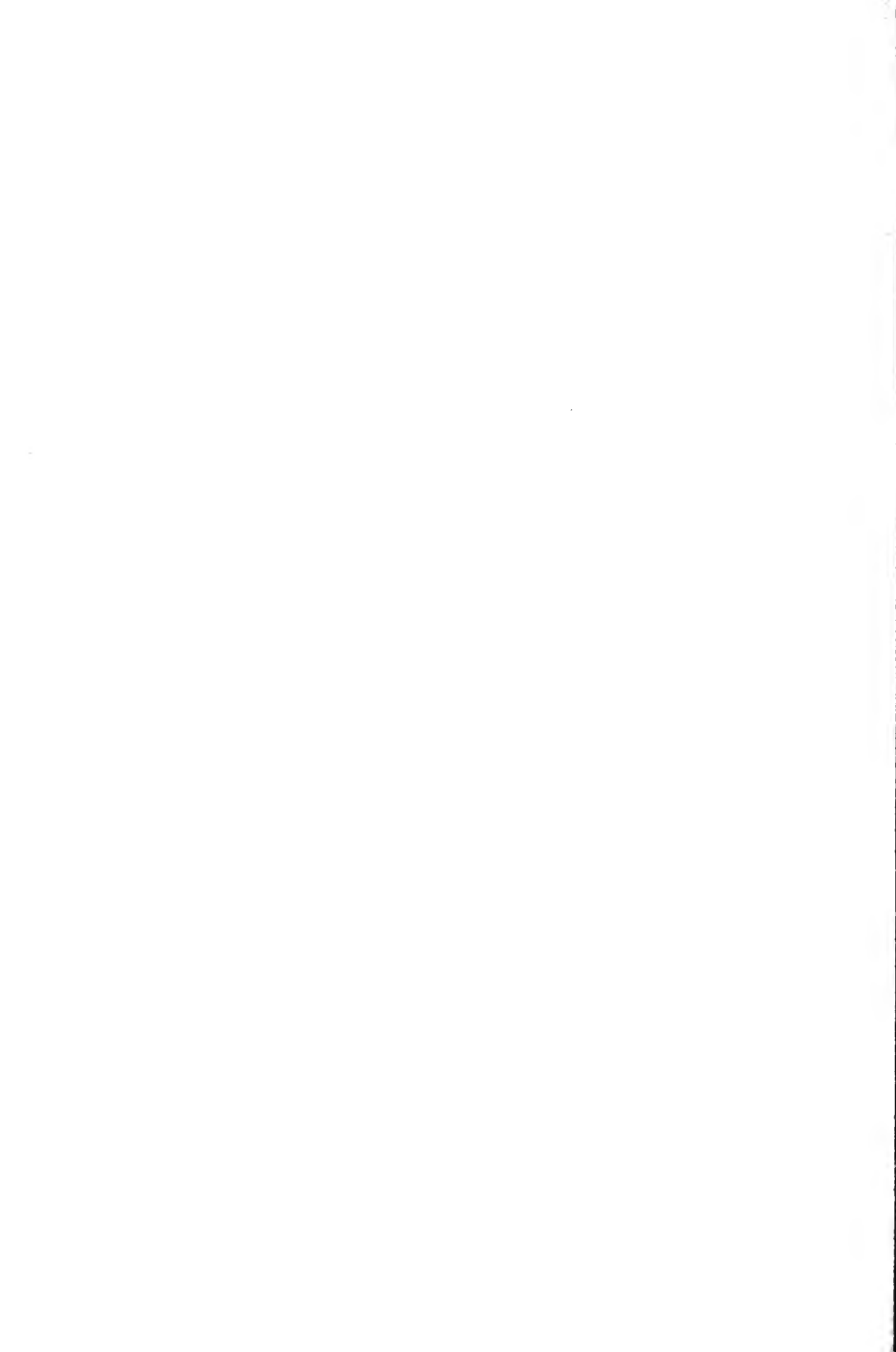


F. P. MOUNTGARRETT.











*Edinburgh - 1857*

# HISTORY

OF

## THE KINGDOM OF NAPLES

1734-1825.

BY GENERAL PIETRO COLLETTA.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ITALIAN

BY S. HORNER.

WITH A SUPPLEMENTARY CHAPTER

1825-1856.

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# CONTENTS OF VOL. I.

## BOOK I.

REIGN OF CHARLES OF BOURBON.—1734-1759.

### CHAPTER I.

	PAGE
Introduction to the reign of Charles of Bourbon—Reigning Houses—Viceregal Government until 1700—Continuation of the Viceregal Government under Philip v.—Conspiracy of the Macchia—Philip v. visits Naples in the year 1702—War with the Empire—Viceregal Government under Charles vi.—Peace of Utrecht—Peace of Rastadt—War in Sicily—Treaty of London accepted by Philip v.— <i>Auto-da-fé</i> in Sicily—Expedition against Naples by Charles of Bourbon—State of Naples on the arrival of Charles of Bourbon,	1-28

### CHAPTER II.

Conquest of the Sicilies by the Infant Charles of Bourbon—Movements of the Spanish army in Italy—Preparations for defence by the Imperial Viceroy—Advance of the Spaniards—Charles of Bourbon makes his public entry into Naples—Battle of Bitonto—Final Conquest of the kingdom—Expedition against Sicily—Charles visits Sicily—His Coronation,	29-50
--	-------

### CHAPTER III.

The reign of Charles from the Conquest to the victory of Velletri—Reforms in the kingdom—Marriage of Charles—The Orders of St. Januarius and St. Gennaro—Disputes with the Pope—Investiture of Charles in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies—Concordat—Renewed war in Italy—Charles prepares for war—Feats of arms in the camp at Velletri—Charles surprised by the enemy—The German army retires—Charles returns to Naples,	51-81
---	-------

## CHAPTER IV.

PAGE

Continuation and end of the reign of Charles—Public works—Discovery of Herculaneum and Pompeii—Measures of Charles deserving of both censure and praise—Popular risings against the introduction of the Inquisition—Continuance of the war of Italy—Death of Philip v.—Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle—Attempts of Charles to subvert the feudal system—The third Estate—Death of Ferdinand vi.—Charles succeeds to the throne of Spain—Charles provides for the succession in the kingdom of Naples—His departure, . . . . .	82-102
--	--------

## BOOK II.

## REIGN OF FERDINAND IV.—1759-1790.

## CHAPTER I.

Minority of the king—Title and investiture of the new king—The jurisdiction of the Church—Education of the king—Famine in the kingdom, . . . . .	103-112
--	---------

## CHAPTER II.

The king attains his majority, and assumes the government—State of Europe, and its relations with Naples—Expulsion of the Jesuits—Disputes with the Pope—Marriage of the king—Reconciliation with the Pope—Fresh disputes with Rome—Abolition of the <i>Chinea</i> —National education—Defects in the administration—Coral fisheries—Colonies—Poverty of the Exchequer—Feudalism—Reforms in the law tribunals—The office of Syndic restored—Bad laws—Commerce—State of the army, . . . . .	113-141
--	---------

## CHAPTER III.

Continuation of the reign of Ferdinand—Birth of a Prince—Tanucci deprived of power—Concordat with Rome commenced and interrupted—Sir John Acton—Earthquakes in Calabria—Journey of the King and Queen of Naples—Death of remarkable persons—Public works—Colony of San Leucio—Marriages in the royal family, . . . . .	142-164
--	---------

## CHAPTER IV.

The Revolution in France, and its first effects in the kingdom of Naples—First movements in France—The Assembly of Notables—The States-general—The Bastille taken—Progress of the Revolution—The Royal Family returns to Paris—Wise laws of the National Assembly—Effects of the French Revolution on Naples—State of Naples at the end of the year 1790—Fears for the future, . . . . .	165-182
--	---------

## BOOK III.

## REIGN OF FERDINAND IV.—1791-1799.

## CHAPTER I.

	PAGE
Preparations for war and defence—Return of the sovereigns of Naples—Internal measures—Continuation of the history of France—Persecution of the liberals in Naples—Execution of Louis xvi.—Resolution of the sovereigns of Naples for the defence of Italy—French fleet at Naples—Reconciliation with France—Suspensions and persecution—Origin of the Lazzaroni—Confederation with England, . . . . .	183-201

## CHAPTER II.

War with France—Peace—Violation of treaties—Indictments for treason, 1793-1798—Expedition to Toulon—Subsidies and levy of troops—Robbery of the National Banks—Disputes between Naples and Sweden—Memorable eruption of Vesuvius—Condemnations for treason—Plots of Acton against the Chevalier Medici—Attempted revolution in Palermo—Honourable conduct of the Neapolitan troops in Italy—Encampments along the frontiers of the kingdom—Peace of Paris—Marriage of Prince Francis, heir to the throne—The Prince of Paternò carried into slavery—Assassination of General Duphot at Rome—A republic established at Rome—Trials for treason—The battle of Aboukir—Nelson arrives in Naples, . . . . .	202-247
---	---------

## CHAPTER III.

Disastrous war with the French Republic—Insurrections in the kingdom—Flight of the king—Victory and triumph of the arms of France, 1798, 1799—Preparations of the French on the frontiers of Rome—Irruption of the Neapolitan army into the Roman States—The King of Naples enters Rome in triumph—Disasters of the army—Flight of the king from Rome—Retreat of the army—Enterprise of the French against Naples—The king's proclamation—The Commander of Gaeta surrenders that fortress—Assault and defence of Capua—Risings in Naples—Flight of the king—Mistakes of the Regent—Truce with the French, and worse disorders in the city—Seizure of the Castle of Sant' Elmo—Anarchy—Attack on the city—Victory of the French, . . . . .	248-288
---	---------

## BOOK IV.

## THE PARTHENOPEAN REPUBLIC.—JANUARY TO JUNE 1799.

## CHAPTER I.

Laws for the organization of the Republic—Speeches and celebration of the event—Moral condition of the people—Regulations for the new government and various laws—Finances—War-tax—General discontent—State of the provinces—Proposal for a Neapolitan Constitution by Mario Pagano—Departure of General Championnet—Tuscany occupied by the French, . . . . .	289-310
--	---------



## CHAPTER II.

PAGE

Insurrections of the Bourbonists in the provinces—Attempts against the Republic by the King of Sicily and the English—Retreat of the French—Risings in the Abruzzi; in the Terra di Lavoro; in the Principality of Salerno; in the Basilicata—Disturbances in Puglia; in Calabria—Cardinal Ruffo in Calabria—Sack of Cotrone—Stipulations of Catanzaro—Misfortunes of the geologist Dolomieu—Massacre of the French at Agosta—Military expedition of the French into the provinces—Schipani defeated—Conquest of Sanseverino—Destruction of Andria; of Trani—Submission of Puglia to the French—Progress of Cardinal Ruffo—New Constitution of the Neapolitan Republic—Destruction of Altamura by the Cardinal—The French at Caserta—Revolt of Lettere, Castellamare, and Gragnano—The French abandon Naples—The fall of the Republic, after the retreat of the French army—Measures of the Republican Government—Capture of Procida and Ischia—Conspiracy of Baker—The army of the Holy Faith advances to attack Naples—Measures of public safety—Defeat of Schipani—Defence of Vigliena—Death of Luigi Serio—The Republicans take refuge in the castles—Capitulation of the fort of Castellamare—Offers of Peace of the Cardinal to the Directory—Truce—Consultations—Peace—Capitulation of the castles—Violation of the treaty by the king—Surrender of Sant' Elmo, Capua, and Gaeta—End of the Republic,	311-366
--	---------

## BOOK V.

## REIGN OF FERDINAND IV.—1799-1806.

## CHAPTER I.

King Ferdinand of Bourbon resumes the throne—Massacres in the city—Lady Hamilton and Lord Nelson—Death of Admiral Caracciolo—Royal decrees—The Junta of State—Trials and executions—Rewards bestowed on the king's adherents—Ordinances for the army,	367-392
---	---------

## CHAPTER II.

Enterprises of the Neapolitan Government—Expedition against Rome—General Bonaparte succeeded by General Naselli—Return of Bonaparte from Egypt—Cardinal Ruffo at the conclave at Venice—Discovery of Vaccination—A general pardon—The Order of St. Ferdinand instituted—Levy of men and horses—Preparations of Bonaparte for the war of Italy—Battle of Marengo—Armistice of Alessandria—Election of Pius vii.—Cession of Malta to England—Birth of Ferdinand, heir to the throne of the Two Sicilies—War between Naples and France—Peace of Luneville—Treaty of Florence,	393-430
--	---------

## CHAPTER III.

Peace of Amiens—Renewed hostilities with France—Double marriage with the House of Spain—Don Giuseppe Zurlo—State of the finances—England	
--	--

breaks the Treaty of Amiens—War—Bonaparte Emperor—Intrigues of the Jesuits—Earthquake in the county of Molise—Bonaparte crowned King of Italy—The camp at Boulogne—Maritime war—Battle of Trafalgar—Bonaparte prepares to invade Naples—Treaty of neutrality between Naples and France—Treaty of Naples with the enemies of France—Arrival of Russian and English troops in Naples, . . . . .	431-453
---	---------

## CHAPTER IV.

Final events of this period, 1805, 1806—The French conquests in Germany—Battle of Austerlitz—Peace of Presburg—Advance of the French against Naples—Joseph Bonaparte and General Massena approach the kingdom—Departure of the king for Sicily followed by the queen—the Regents send envoys to Prince Joseph—The French army enter Naples, . . . . .	454-469
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BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICE  
OF  
GENERAL PIETRO COLLETTA.

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PIETRO COLLETTA was born in Naples on the 23d January 1775. He early showed a predilection for the study of mathematics, but applied himself diligently to Latin, for the sole purpose, it is believed, of reading Tacitus, whose writings he afterwards used as a model for composition and style. His natural inclinations, however, led him to prefer a life of activity to one of study and contemplation, and he entered the army as an officer of artillery in 1796.

He distinguished himself in the war against the French in 1798, and had then an opportunity of observing the superiority of the enemy, and the great want of discipline in the Neapolitan troops. After the entrance of the French into Naples, Colletta hoped for improvements in his country, but while admiring the liberal form of government now introduced, he learnt to despise the boasts of demagogues, and of shallow philosophers. He was, however, involved in the ruin of the Republic, and was shut up in prison with some of the most illustrious men of the age, whom he saw, one by one, taken out, only to be led to the scaffold. His own life was saved by the exertions of one of his relations, who, by bribery and a false attestation respecting his identity, obtained his liberation.

Having been dismissed the army, Colletta now entered upon the profession of a civil engineer, and assisted to drain the Marshes of Ofanto, at the time when Fra Diavolo occupied the province in the name of the king. In 1806, the French again invaded Naples, when Colletta, already distinguished among the friends of order and reform, aided by his voice and example in forming the guard of citizens, to which Naples is indebted for having been frequently saved from the fury of the mob. King Joseph restored him to his rank, and he attracted the notice of the Minister Saliceti by his conduct during the harassing war which followed. The minister recommended him to King Joachim, as capable of greater things. Colletta was accordingly intrusted to explore the island of Capri, then garrisoned by the English under Sir Hudson Lowe, and to discover the best place for landing the troops intended for its conquest. The success of the expedition justified the recommendation of Saliceti, and Colletta was next sent as *Intendente* or civil governor to Calabria Ultra, at that time agitated by civil war, instigated from Sicily.

Colletta resided two years in the capital city of Monteleone, where he had ample opportunity to collect materials for his future History. He accompanied Joachim on his attempted enterprise against Sicily, and in 1812 returned to Naples as superintendent of roads and bridges, and with the rank of general. In 1813, he was appointed to the chief command of the military engineers, and in 1814, he was made councillor of state.

In 1815, he gained fresh laurels when fighting the Austrians on the Panaro, and after following Joachim through this disastrous campaign, he was employed by him to negotiate the treaty of Casalanza. Despairing for Naples, he now thought of abandoning his country, and hoped to serve her cause better in foreign lands. But though under suspicion as a Muratist, his rank was confirmed by Ferdinand, and he was appointed to the command of a division at Salerno. The Minister Medici courted his friendship, but Colletta predicted another revolution in the kingdom, which Medici

refused to believe, or to use measures to prevent, and an alienation subsequently took place between these two men.

When the Revolution of 1820 broke out, Ferdinand sent for Colletta, and restored him to the command of the engineers. Soon afterwards he was sent to Sicily with the authority of royal lieutenant, to suppress the revolt there; and where, by his own confession, he was merciless to the revolutionary party. After two months he returned to Naples just as the fortunes of the constitutionalists were nearest their ebb. Colletta succeeded Parisi as minister of war; he entered on office on the 26th February 1821, and on the 23d March the Germans had possession of Naples, and were followed by King Ferdinand, accompanied by Canosa. First among the victims reserved for vengeance was Colletta; he was arrested and thrown into the Castle of Sant' Elmo. Here he had to endure the insults and menaces of Canosa for three months; until the Austrian policy saw fit to put some curb on the violence of the Neapolitan government, when Colletta, with four of the most illustrious members of Parliament and officers were removed from their dungeons, and without any form of trial, hurried on board a German vessel bound for Trieste. Colletta was finally conveyed to Brünn in Moravia, at the foot of that Spielberg which has been made a living tomb for so many Italian patriots. The sight of this fortress, the severity of the climate, and the unceasing longing for his home, aggravated his sufferings. His health at last began to decline, and the physicians fearing for his life, he was allowed after two years to reside in Florence, where he arrived in March 1823.

In his dreary exile in Moravia, he conceived the first idea of his History, which he commenced writing in Florence, and this work occupied the remaining eight years of his life. His first literary labour had been a military narrative of the last war of Joachim, which he wrote in 1815. In 1820, soon after the outbreak of the revolution, he published two short pamphlets, which excited some attention at the time. While in Florence he formed a close inti-

macy with two of the most celebrated authors in Italy, and frequently consulted them on his History. He lived a life of the strictest retirement and economy, seeking in Leghorn a more genial climate in the winter ; he died at Florence on the 11th November 1831, and was buried in a little chapel on the road between that city and Pisa.

The Translator of this history has added footnotes where they were felt to be needed for the explanation of the text ; and for many of these, begs to acknowledge the valuable assistance of friends, as well as in the compilation of the Supplementary Chapters.



# HISTORY OF THE KINGDOM OF NAPLES.

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## BOOK I.

### REIGN OF CHARLES OF BOURBON.

1734-1759.

#### CHAPTER I.

##### INTRODUCTION TO THE REIGN OF CHARLES OF BOURBON.

THE river Tronto, the Liri, the petty stream of San Magno near Portella, the chain of the Apennines, whence these rivers take their rise, and the shores of the Mediterranean skirting the Tyrrhenean, the Ionian, and the Adriatic Seas, from the Lake of Fondi to the mouth of the Tronto, are the boundaries of that land, which, in the eleventh century, obeyed the Greek Empire, and the Lombard lords of Capua, Salerno, and Benevento. By the valour of the Norman Robert Guiscard, these detached sovereignties were united and transmitted entire to his nephew Roger, who had already made himself king of Sicily, which he had conquered from the Saracens and Greeks (1130). The kingdom passed from him to William the Bad, William the Good, Tancred, and, for a short time, to William III. When the second William lost all hopes of an heir, he united the last survivor of the blood of Roger, the Princess Constance, in marriage with the Emperor Henry of the house of Swabia, who, upon the death of Tancred, succeeded to the crown of Sicily and Puglia.

Thus, in the year 1189, the kingdom passed from the Norman race, distinguished for their warlike virtues, to the Swabian.

To Henry succeeded the great king, Frederic II., and to him, for a short period, Conrad, followed by Manfred, another but illegitimate son. The Popes of Rome, who pretended to the supremacy of the world, and more especially to that of the Sicilies, after having given much disquiet to the princes of the Norman dynasty, turned their sacred weapons and warriors against the Swabian. Always defeated, although they fought in an age of ignorance, but from the very ignorance of their contemporaries, incapable of being either crushed or annihilated, the pontiffs rose from their losses more enraged and hostile than before.

After three preceding Popes had vainly tempted the ambition of Henry III. of England, Clement IV. instigated Charles of Anjou, the brother of Louis of France, and a celebrated warrior, to take up arms against Manfred; and, urged on by the restless desires of his wife,<sup>1</sup> Charles arrived with an army prepared for this enterprise. He was crowned king of the Sicilies in Rome (1266), and, entering the kingdom, attacked Manfred, who was encamped near Benevento. The valour of the Swabian was not proof against the fortunes of France, and the infamous treachery of his subjects in Puglia. Manfred perished in the battle, and Charles was already happy in the possession of his throne, when Conradin, the son of Conrad, advanced to attack him (1268). The youth, having conquered the Guelphic cities of Italy, and having been victorious at Tagliacozzo, where the hostile armies met, was rejoicing in the camp over his success, and his hopes for the future, when the king sent against him a fresh legion, which he had kept in reserve. Defeated and forced to fly, Conradin was next betrayed and made prisoner by the fortunate Charles; and, a year later, by the inhumanity of the king, or the cruel advice of the pontiff, this last representative of the house of Swabia was beheaded; the race of Anjou was thus established in the kingdom of the Sicilies.

Six kings and two queens of this dynasty ruled over the kingdom for a period of 175 years, during which time it was a prey to foreign and domestic wars. The Swabian monarchs, Manfred and Conradin, perished by order of the kings of the house of Anjou; and Andrew and Joanna I. of their own race likewise died violent

<sup>1</sup> Beatrice, fourth daughter of Raymond Bérenger, last Count of Provence, whose three elder sisters had married the sovereigns of France, Germany, and England.

deaths. King Charles of Durazzo, discovered in conspiracies against the two queens of Hungary,<sup>1</sup> was murdered, and Ladislaus died from poison. During this period, 8000 French, the tyrants of Sicily, were massacred at the *Vespers* of John of Procida; the barons of the kingdom were constantly divided among themselves, and, through the agency of the princes of the House of Anjou, arose the schism in the Church, by which two and even three contemporaneous Popes divided the spoils of the Apostolic See, and the consciences of Christendom. But while in the recesses of their palace these kings concealed crimes of the utmost enormity, when upon their thrones they displayed the greatest veneration for the Church; they built and endowed churches and monasteries, gave dominion to the Popes, and granted privileges to ecclesiastics. Charles I. and Ladislaus were valiant in war, and Robert governed wisely, though the virtues of all three were tarnished by the vices inherent in their blood; the remaining sovereigns of this dynasty were scourges to the kingdom.

In the year 1441, after René, the last of the House of Anjou, had fled, Alphonso I. of Arragon established the dominion of the Arragonese princes, which terminated in 1501, with the flight of Frederic. Five kings of that dynasty succeeded one another in less than sixty years, four of whom, Ferdinand I., Alphonso II., Ferdinand II., and Frederic, filled the throne in the short space of three years, including the interruption caused by the conquest and dominion of Charles VIII. Wars were frequent during the reign of this proud and cruel race of Arragon; the most noble and influential families in the kingdom were crushed; the exchequer impoverished; and the spirit of party kindled among the barons. These dissensions, and the general weakness, caused the State to sink from a powerful kingdom to an insignificant province of a distant empire. I shall briefly describe the miseries which ensued, but let the reader remember that in little more than three centuries and a half, four dynasties had succeeded one another, giving twenty-two sovereigns to Naples, without including the transitory reigns of Louis King of Hungary, of Pope Innocent IV., of James of Arragon, and of

<sup>1</sup> Elizabeth, widow of the last king, Louis the Great, and her daughter, Mary, only child and heiress to the crown of

Hungary. Charles of Durazzo rested his claim on that of his wife, Mary, daughter of Stephen, of the race of Arpad.

Charles VIII. ; that for short intervals of peace, the people had endured long years of war ; that amidst suffering, civilisation had advanced, and that, during these vicissitudes, the peculiar defect remarked in the Neapolitan character was political inconstancy, or rather hatred of the existing government, and a perpetual craving after a new State, at once the cause and the result of their unhappy condition.

When Frederic, the last of the Arragonese princes, attacked by the King of France, and betrayed by his uncle, the King of Spain, was obliged to fly from Italy, the two successful monarchs, while dividing the kingdom they had usurped, contended, by their lieutenants and armies, for the right of sole possession. Gonsalvo, the great captain, conquered ; the whole kingdom fell to Ferdinand the Catholic, and was thenceforward governed by his viceroys as a province. This was the commencement of that viceregal government, which afflicted the nation for a period of 230 years. The first viceroy was Gonsalvo.

All the political institutions of the country underwent a change. The old magistracies lost authority and influence before a new tribunal called the Collateral Council ;<sup>1</sup> the importance of the ministers of State diminished, and the officials in the palace retained nothing but the name ; the army was disbanded, and the navy became subordinate to the navy and commerce of Spain, while the viceroy, who levied the taxes for the supply of the finances, resided within the kingdom, and the king, who dispensed the money and other advantages, resided abroad. The feudal lords were humbled now that they were deprived of their arms, and the nobles were degraded by being associated with new princes and dukes, whose titles had been purchased. Although, by the terms of the peace, the adherents of the House of Anjou had their possessions restored to them, they only received a small part, and after considerable delays ; and the adherents of the Swabian and Arragonese princes were entirely despoiled. Ghibelines and Guelphs were alike persecuted, and, while the pride of Rome revived, everything else degenerated.

<sup>1</sup> *Consiglio Collaterale*, a board, partly composed of Spaniards, at once the highest legislative body, the court of justice in the

last resort, and the head of the executive government.—*Italy and the Italian Islands*, W. Spalding, vol. ii. p. 267.

Thus elapsed two centuries of provincial servitude, more or less miserable, until the accession of Philip v.<sup>1</sup> and Charles vi.<sup>2</sup> to the thrones of Spain and of the Empire. During this period, seven kings of the House of Spain, from Ferdinand the Catholic to Charles II., had ruled with despotic power; and thirty Roman Pontiffs, from Alexander vi. to Clement xi., had, in various ways, persecuted both the princes and people. Numerous viceroys had succeeded one another; some good, some indifferent, and others bad. The dominion of the House of Spanish-Austria ended by the death of Charles II., in the year 1700, at which period Pietro Giannone concludes his history,—a historian who has been highly praised, but whose merits exceed his reputation. Though I no more presume to compare my work with that of this exalted but unhappy genius, than to recommend myself to the public by the similarity of our misfortunes, I propose (in order to connect my history with his) to give a more detailed account of the events relating to the viceregal government from 1700 to 1734, when Charles of Bourbon began his reign; and hoping that my readers are already well acquainted with the works of Giannone, it will be enough if I at times merely allude to those parts of early history necessary for the comprehension of the facts I may have to describe.

Towards the end of the year 1700, Philip v. ascended the throne of Spain; and, by the will of the deceased king, Charles II., succeeded to all the dominions appertaining to that Crown. But the Emperor Leopold disputing the right of Philip to the throne, armies were prepared to decide this great contest. When Medinaceli, the viceroy of Naples, proclaimed Philip v., the people listened with indifference; while the nobles, who were attached to Austria, and opposed to the House of France, lamented his accession, because he was one of that family, and Duke of Anjou; but their hopes were revived by the war in Lombardy, where the imperial arms were successful, and by the fame of the captain, Prince

<sup>1</sup> Philip v., grandson of Louis xiv. of France, second son of Louis Dauphin of France, and of Marie Anne of Bavaria, born 1683, called to the Crown of Spain, 1700, by the will of Charles II., King of Spain, who died without issue.

<sup>2</sup> Charles vi., second son of the Emperor Leopold, was destined by his father for the throne of Spain, which Louis xiv. of France had resolved should be occupied by his grandson. He became emperor in 1711.

Eugene, whose deeds were the talk of Italy. The Neapolitan nobles, accordingly, sent Don Giuseppe Capece, as secret envoy to Leopold, and after promising the emperor to raise the people in his favour, he obtained from him the following conditions : That he should send immediate aid in arms, change the State from a province to an independent kingdom, and give them the Archduke Charles for their king ; maintain the privileges conceded by former princes ; institute a senate composed solely of Neapolitans, to advise him in the affairs of the kingdom ; preserve the ancient rights of the nobility, and grant new titles and lands to the conspirators. Capece then returned to Naples to render an account of the success of his mission, and concert the plan for this difficult enterprise.

Don Girolamo Capece and Signor Sassinet arrived from Rome at the same time, each feigning some good reason for his appearance, as well as Don Jacopo Gambacorta, Prince of Macchia, from Barcelona. Capece had been a colonel in the army of the emperor, Sassinet secretary of the imperial embassy to the Pope, and Gambacorta was a young man, bold, eloquent, poor, and ambitious. Endowed with all the qualities which best fitted him for a conspirator, he was chosen leader, and the conspiracy received from him the name of *Macchia* (1701). It was the middle of September, when, after calculating time and action, they fixed on the 16th day of October to commence operations. Their design was to kill the viceroy ; to gain possession of the fortresses of the city ; to proclaim Prince Charles, son of the Emperor Leopold, king ; to overpower the small body of Spanish troops who were reposing carelessly on their posts ; and to rule the State until the arrival of the armed succour promised by the emperor. The conspirators included in their numbers almost the whole nobility of the kingdom, who shared the anxieties and dangers of the enterprise.

But fresh incidents arrived to prevent further delay. Upon the information of the Duke de Uzeda, minister of Philip v. at Naples, the viceroy intercepted letters written by Cardinal Grimani, the emperor's ambassador at Rome, to one of the conspirators, which revealed the existence of a conspiracy, though leaving the connecting links and its actual condition obscure. Suspicious, therefore, of everything around him, Medinacœli kept a strict watch

within his palace, altered his habits of life, collected the few troops he had with him, and placed spies upon the nobles and people; he then instituted the "*Giunta degl' Inconfidenti*,"<sup>1</sup> a tribunal with the power to punish, and caused Father Vigliena of the Theatine Order,<sup>2</sup> to be imprisoned, upon which Father Torres, a Jesuit, fled; the ministers of the Government and the conspirators were equally alarmed.

At length, either confident of their strength, or hurried on by their evil destiny, the conspirators hastened their preparations, and rose in an insurrection on the 23d September. Unable to fulfil their intention of killing the viceroy (whose death had been concerted with his coachman and two other of his menials), because he did not drive out as usual in his carriage, they invested Castel Nuovo, and found the gates closed and guarded; thus the first hopes of the conspiracy failed. But after these irrevocable steps had been taken, they were obliged to proceed, led on by present necessity, and trusting to the irresistible force of a lawless mob. Raising the standard of the emperor, they proclaimed the new king, and increased the tumult, while overthrowing the images of Philip, and setting up those of Charles. They harangued the people in the public squares, promising them abundance, and, in conformity with the despotic usages of that period, impunity, favours, and privileges. In the midst of this excitement, these noble conspirators, either hoping to increase their influence, or from youthful arrogance, assumed the new titles of princes and dukes, for which they had stipulated with the Emperor.

Doctor Saverio Pansuti, a proud man, but learned and eloquent, one of the conspirators, and chosen in the conspiracy *Eletto*<sup>3</sup> of the people, ascended an elevated part of the Mercato,<sup>4</sup> which was densely crowded by a populace easily moved by any novelty, and

<sup>1</sup> *Degl' Inconfidenti*, want of confidence. A tribunal appointed to try *suspected* persons.

<sup>2</sup> *Theatine Order*. So called from the town of Chieti, or Teti (Latin, Theate), in Abruzzo Citra, where Archbishop Pietro Caraffa, afterwards Paul iv., was the first superior of the Order. He founded it in conjunction with Gaetano of Vicenza, since

canonized, who died at Naples (1547), and who is one of the patron saints of the city, only second to St. Januarius.

<sup>3</sup> *Eletto*. In every commune the taxpayers annually elected a Syndic, and two officers called *Eletti*, to administer the public funds of the district.

<sup>4</sup> The great market-place of the city.



made a sign to them to listen. He then informed them that he was their new *Eletto*, reminded them of the evils of the Spanish rule, exaggerated the hopes to be entertained of the government of the emperor, magnified the forces of the conspiracy, promised gifts and rewards, and entreated the people to join the nobles. As he concluded his oration, a working-man, from amidst his audience, grey with age, spoke, in a loud voice, as follows:—

“You Eletto, and ye people, hearken to me; it is now many years ago, since we, led by Masaniello, the man of the people, aimed a blow at the bad government of the Spaniards: the nobles then ranged themselves against us, or stood aloof, and frequently harangued us (as the new Eletto has just done), to lead us back to servitude, which they called peace. I, then a boy, followed the people, and witnessed the deceptions practised by the great lords, the treachery of the Government, and the deaths of my relatives and friends. As an old man, grown wise with years, I now address you, and propose, that in this conspiracy of nobles, the people should abandon them, as, in the conspiracy of Masaniello, he was abandoned by the nobles. You hear the names they have already assumed, of Prince of Piombino, Prince of Salerno, and Count of Nola; and you may expect as many more unheard-of titles, but all of which will prove new tyrannies for us: I shall now quit this place, and let all who believe my words follow me.” The square was immediately emptied, and the first speaker retired in confusion.

The conspirators, however, were reinforced by many of the lowest of the populace, and by the peasantry, not from any attachment to the cause, but from the love of plunder. In the midst of the confusion they went about ransacking houses, and murdering those belonging to either party without distinction. On witnessing these atrocities, several of the nobles, though themselves either conspirators, or secret partisans, sought refuge in the castles garrisoned by the Spanish soldiers; some fled from the turbulent city, and others barricaded their houses, and filled them with armed retainers. The unrestrained license of the populace, and the want of foresight on the part of the leaders, had so diminished the forces of the enterprise, that the Prince of Macchia issued an edict threatening the plunderers with the punishment of death, as well

as those nobles who should delay a day lending their aid to the party of King Charles. This edict, by driving some to desperation, and appearing to others too violent a measure, served doubly to prejudice the interests of the conspiracy.

The viceroy, therefore, perceiving the indifference of the people, the want of union among the nobles, and that the conspirators were few, and had taken alarm, ordered, on the third day, that the crews of galley-slaves, on board the Spanish vessels anchored in the harbour, should be landed; after they had been formed into a band of soldiers, they were sent from Castel Nuovo against the rebels, who were encamped behind barricades in different quarters of the city. Meanwhile, in order to support the attack and add to the panic, the castles kept up a continual thunder of artillery. The tower of Santa Chiara, which had been taken possession of by the conspirators to hoist the standard of Austria, to reconnoitre the city from its summit, and to ring a double peal, was suddenly stormed, and the other posts were attacked and taken. The defenders were dispersed; Macchia and others fled; Sassinet and Sangro were taken prisoners; the standard of Charles was lowered and insulted, and the images and colours of Philip restored. Nothing remained of this attempt at rebellion, but its recollection, the mischief it had caused, and the reflection on dangers overcome.

Immediately afterwards, Medinacœli was recalled, and the Duke of Ascalon came as viceroy, from Sicily. Don Carlos di Sangro, a colonel in the service of the Emperor, was beheaded in the square of Castel Nuovo, and several of the conspirators shared his fate; others were barbarously murdered in their dungeons; Sassinet, although secretary to the Embassy, was sent prisoner to France; many besides languished in chains, and the property of all was confiscated to the exchequer. An increase of rigour, of punishments and tortures for all manner of crimes, and towards all classes of the citizens, now alarmed the people, who became exasperated against the Government, and repented not having joined the conspiracy of the nobles.

When King Philip was informed of this conspiracy, he coolly calculated the extent of the danger, and remembering that the issue of the wars in Italy and Spain was yet doubtful, resolved, by a display of liberality and clemency, to dispel the odium occa-

sioned by rebellion, and its consequent punishments. With this intention he embarked at Barcelona, and reached Naples in June 1702, where he was welcomed with the joyous reception an oppressed people are ever ready to bestow on him to whom they look for relief. They did not, however, obtain what they most desired, to retain their king in Naples, for a higher destiny called him to Spain; but he amply rewarded their demonstrations of attachment by abolishing many taxes, remitting several millions of ducats<sup>1</sup> owing to the exchequer, granting an amnesty for past political offences, and conferring titles on those nobles who had supported his claims, while his manners were kind and affable towards all his subjects. The clergy, barons, and eletti assembled to vote a donation of three hundred thousand ducats to the king, as a token of the universal feeling of gratitude, and the erection of an equestrian statue in bronze to his honour, in the largest square of the city. But the advance of the Austrian army in Lombardy obliged Philip to leave Naples, after two months' agreeable sojourn, to assume the command of the French armies, which were opposed to Eugene of Savoy. He left Ascalon regent.

In the year 1705, the Emperor Leopold died, and was succeeded by his eldest son Joseph. No relaxation in the fierceness of the wars in Germany and Italy followed; Ascalon therefore sent soldiers, ships, and money to the aid of Spain, and harassed the overburdened people for levies of men and money. The attachment to Philip declined, a change to be attributed to the oppressive conduct of his representatives. Such was the state of affairs in 1707, when Prince Eugene, having defeated the French troops in Lombardy, sent five thousand infantry and three thousand German cavalry, under the command of Count Daun, by the way of Tivoli and Palestrina to Naples. The viceroy, Ascalon, having only a small force with him, appealed to the people, but found them unwilling to comply, partly from an aversion to war, and partly from their inclinations always leading them to favour a new government. Only Don Tommaso d'Aquino, Prince of Castiglione, and Don Niccolo Pignatelli, Duke of Bisaccia, with a few thousand armed followers, encamped behind the Garigliano, but on the approach of Daun they returned to Naples. Capua and Aversa

<sup>1</sup> The Neapolitan ducat is about three shillings and fourpence.

yielded to the conqueror, and the Duke of Ascalon repaired to Gaeta. The vanguard of the Germans, led by the Count of Martinitz, who had been appointed viceroy by the emperor, was preparing to march to Naples as an enemy, when messengers of peace met them, and offered them the keys of the city; and thus, before being conquered, she voluntarily submitted to a new ruler. The entrance of the imperial troops was triumphant, the people greeted the victor with shouts of applause, and, vehement as usual in their demonstrations of joy, they overthrew the statue of Philip v., which had so lately been erected; broke it in pieces, and threw the fragments into the sea. A few days later, the three castles of the city surrendered, and the garrison of Castel Nuovo, officers and soldiers, Spaniards and Neapolitans, without a sentiment of shame at their own inconstancy, passed into the service of the new prince.

The Prince of Castiglione, either because his hopes were not yet extinguished, or, more to his honour, because he refused to abandon his colours in times of misfortune, repaired to Puglia with a thousand horse; but finding the pass of Avellino occupied by the enemy, turned off by Salerno. A more numerous body of German cavalry followed in pursuit of him; he was abandoned by his men, and, with the few who remained of his thousand soldiers, was captured. The effect of this example spread throughout the kingdom. The inhabitants of the Abruzzi, whom the Duke of Atri was vainly exciting to war, submitted to General Vetzeel, and soon afterwards the fortress of Pescara surrendered. Gaeta alone, reinforced by the galleys of the Duke of Tursi, made a show of resistance for a considerable time.

The siege, which was directed by Count Daun, was hard pressed, and before the end of September a breach was opened, which the assailants mounted, and the besieged fled in disorder behind an embankment thrown up some days previously, to replace the ruined walls; the weakness of the place, the alarm of the defenders, and the impetuosity of the attack, with the good fortune of the Germans, carried them beyond the moat and the trench, and they entered the panic-stricken city, where they massacred and plundered the inhabitants. Ascalon, with a few others, took refuge in the little tower of Orlando, but surrendered the following day on

the sole condition of their lives being spared, and thus entered Naples as prisoners. Among the most distinguished of those captured, besides the viceroy, were the Duke of Bisaccia, and the Prince of Cellamare, who had both shortly before held places of authority, and been among the highest in the kingdom; valiant in war, and of noble blood, they had been favourites of fortune, until now when fallen into adversity they were prisoners in the hands of a foreign barbarian. The people pursued this unhappy band of captives, and insulted Ascalon, while reminding him of the cruelties he had perpetrated after the conspiracy of Macchia; in a still more inhuman and cowardly spirit, they turned their insults against those two Neapolitan nobles, who alone, or with only a few adherents, had in misfortune maintained the fidelity they had sworn to Philip. The government of the emperor was established in the kingdom, but the Count of Martinitz being recalled into Germany, Count Daun remained as viceroy.

His first care was to recover possession of the fortresses, called the *Presidii* of Tuscany,<sup>1</sup> which were guarded by Spanish soldiers. Santo Stefano and Orbitello surrendered to General Vetzeel, who was sent thither with a large body of troops; Porto Longone next yielded after a stouter resistance; and lastly, Port-èrcole, in 1712. Daun, having been summoned to the war in Lombardy, was succeeded in the viceroyalty by the Venetian, Cardinal Vincenzo Grimani.

The war in Naples was at an end; but the occupation of Comacchio by the imperial soldiers, the intimation from the emperor to the Duke of Parma no longer to consider himself a feudatory of the Pope but of the empire; and, lastly, the prohibition to the kingdom of the Sicilies to pay the customary tribute to the pontiff,—induced Clement xi. to raise twenty thousand men-at-arms, placing them under the command of Count Ferdinand Marsili, a Bolognese, who encamped in the territory around Bologna, Ferrara,

<sup>1</sup> The *Presidii of Tuscany*. By a treaty concluded between Philip ii. of Spain and Cosmo i., Duke of Florence, in 1557, Philip agreed to cede the State of Sienna to the latter. Sismondi, in his History, continues thus:—"Philippe réserva toutefois à la monarchie espagnole les ports de cette

république, savoir; Orbitello, Porto Ercole, Telamone, Monte Argentero et Porto San Stefano; cette petite province a formé dès-lors ce qu'on a nommé l'état des *Presidii*." SISMONDI, *Histoire des Répub. Italiennes*, vol. xvi. p. 154.

and Comacchio. Upon this, Daun left Lombardy, and advanced to meet these troops, while other forces were collected in Naples to be sent against Rome. The Emperor Joseph did not wish to quarrel with the Pope, but intended by this menacing attitude to oblige him to recognise his brother Charles as sovereign of Spain. Daun, therefore, while approaching the encampments, proposed terms to the pontiff, who, by his bold and unflinching replies, evinced his determination to trust to the decision of war; a novel spectacle! when the leader of successful armies sued for peace, and a Pope invoked an appeal to arms!

After this obstinate repulse, the German troops advanced, and, without much opposition, gained possession of Bondeno and Cento, surrounded Ferrara and Forte Urbano; captured some of the Pope's soldiers, and put the rest to flight, who sought shelter in Imola and Faenza. After these disasters, fearing worse which threatened him by the army sent from Naples, Clement yielded; and, no longer entreated, himself begged for terms of peace, and accepted those offered him, both avowed and secret, thus satisfying all the desires of the conqueror. The peace was real, so far as it depended on written acts, and the general belief; but it was only a truce or stratagem in the eyes of the pontiff, who waited his opportunity to break through the terms, which, not having been ratified by his conscience, were to him only a law of force, to last no longer than the necessity which dictated them.

Upon the death of Cardinal Grimani in Naples (1710), Count Charles Borromeo, a Milanese, came as viceroy in his stead. The following year the Emperor Joseph died, and was succeeded by his brother Charles, the third of that name in the disputed kingdom of Spain, and the sixth in Germany and Naples. The war called the War of Succession lasted two years longer, when the Peace of Utrecht came to rejoice the hearts of the afflicted people (1713). That part of the treaty which concerned us, was the maintenance of the kingdom of Naples to Charles VI., and the cession of Sicily to Victor Amedeus, Duke of Savoy.<sup>1</sup> But it is

<sup>1</sup> Victor Amedeus II., Duke of Savoy, born 1665, married Anne, daughter of Philip Duke of Orleans, brother of Louis XIV. of France. Though the cousin of

Prince Eugene, he commanded the troops opposed to him during the war. His second daughter, Marie Louise, married her cousin Philip V. of Spain, who, at the Peace of

important for the history of the future destinies of these two kingdoms to learn, that the Crown of Spain was confirmed to Philip v. Soon after the conclusion of the Peace of Utrecht, King Victor Amedeus went to Palermo to enter upon the possession of his kingdom, and to enjoy the homage of his subjects and the new title of king. He arrived in October, was joyfully welcomed by the people, and received the kingdom from the hands of the Marquis de Los Balbases, viceroy for Philip v.; he was crowned, with his consort, in the ensuing December, and returned to Piedmont, leaving the island garrisoned by his troops, and obedient to the rule of the viceroy, Hanibal Maffei, a native of Mirandola.

But as the Emperor Charles vi. had not been invited to join the Peace of Utrecht, and therefore the war in Spain, Italy, and Flanders continued during the whole of the year 1713, a new treaty of peace became necessary, which was concluded at Rastadt in 1714: by this the Emperor retained Flanders, the States of Milan, Sardinia, the kingdom of Naples, and the Presidii of Tuscany. Count Daun returned as viceroy to Naples.

The tranquillity of Europe appeared secure, as the ambition of the more powerful sovereigns had been satisfied, and the hopes of weaker princes annihilated, when, three years later, in 1717, a powerful Spanish fleet took possession of Sardinia, without any motive for war, challenge, or quarrel. When the first surprise had subsided, fresh armies were prepared in Germany and France; but the same Spanish fleet suddenly attacking Sicily, seized on Palermo, from whence the viceroy of Amedeus fled; they stormed Catania, and blockaded Messina, Trápani, and Melazzo; these attacks were conducted by the Marquis de Leyde, a Fleming by birth, and general of Philip v.

The representatives of the German Empire, of Piedmont, France, and England, met in London in 1718, to consult in what manner they should oppose the perfidy and grasping ambition of Spain. By conditions, at that time kept secret, it was agreed to attack the Spanish armies and navies in various parts at once; a large number of English vessels with imperial soldiers on board, anchored off

Utrecht, ceded his claim to Sicily to his father-in-law. In 1720, he was deprived of Sicily and received the island of Sardinia,

assuming the title of King of Sardinia. He abdicated in favour of his son Charles Emanuel iii. 1730, and died 1732.



the Port of Messina, and 10,000 Neapolitans and Germans encamped at Reggio, destined to deliver the citadel of Messina, and the Fort of San Salvatore, which were closely besieged by the intrepid Leyde. The English Admiral Byng gained two victories in succession over the Spanish Admiral Castagnedo, and ships were captured, others sunk, and only a few escaped or were dispersed. The city of Messina, though in the possession of the Spaniards, was invested; the Spanish camps were menaced; but the Fleming, though both besieged and besieging, and though obliged to provide for attack as well as for defence, stormed the two fortresses, and in the presence of the conqueror Byng, and of the Emperor's camp, boldly raised the standard of Spain upon these castles. Leaving the city well provided, he then hastened to press the siege of Melazzo.

A fresh supply of ships and troops of the enemies of Spain arrived in Sicily (1720). They gained possession of Palermo, raised the siege of Melazzo, and recovered Messina. The inhabitants, who had sided with Leyde while successful, now changed with fortune, and joined the emperor; everything boded ill for Spain. The Spanish general, fearing the worst, prepared to abandon the island: Spain, harassed by war in other quarters, and unequal to cope with so many powerful enemies, consented to the secret terms of the hostile league, and accepted in compensation for the serious losses she had to suffer at the present moment, a trifling advantage for the future. By this peace, Sicily was given to the emperor, King Amedeus receiving a poor compensation in Sardinia, and the succession to the Duchies of Parma, Piacenza, and Tuscany was assigned to Philip v.; the princes who were the actual rulers of these countries, besides the Pope, who pretended to the dominion of Parma, and King Amedeus, were discontented with the terms, but, from their poverty, could only vent their displeasure in lamentations and protests. General Leyde embarked for Spain with his soldiers, accompanied by 500 of the islanders, who voluntarily expatriated themselves, fearing the anger and vengeance of the conqueror, for having remained faithful to the Spanish interest. Such is the miserable fate of all who meddle in the quarrels of kings, well deserved if they do not act in the support of political principles, but from motives of ambition or the love of gain.

The two Sicilies were united under the empire of Charles VI., who appointed the Duke of Monteleone viceroy in the island, and Count Gallas in Naples, in the place of Count Daun who was recalled. Cardinal Scrotembach succeeded at the death of Gallas. Clement XI. died in the year 1721, and Innocent XIII. was elected; the new Pope, perceiving that the fortune and power of Philip V. were on the decline, did not hesitate to concede, as demanded, the investiture of the two kingdoms to Charles VI. Benedict XIII. succeeded Innocent in the year 1724.

Nothing remarkable occurred in Naples during the ten following years, from 1720 to 1730, except earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, floods, and other destructive phenomena. But, in the year 1724, so horrible an act was perpetrated in the neighbouring island of Sicily, and occasioned such a sensation throughout the kingdom, that I feel it a duty to relate what occurred; and the more so, that I may confirm the Neapolitans in their just detestation of the Inquisition, now that by the alliance of the priesthood with an absolute government, superstition, hypocrisy, and a false veneration for antiquity, are driving them back towards times and manners they abhor; and when they see this tremendous Office, called holy, revived in not a few places in Italy,—as yet exercised with silent discretion, though (should fortune prove favourable) ready to be turned to as sanguinary and cruel a purpose as in the dark ages of universal ignorance.

Brother Romualdo, a lay member of the Augustine Order, and Sister Gertrude, attached to the order of St. Benedict, were arraigned before the tribunal of the Holy Office in the year 1699. The former was accused of *Quietism*,<sup>1</sup> *Molinism*,<sup>2</sup> and heresy; the latter of *pride*, *vanity*, *temerity*, and *hypocrisy*. Both were insane: for the friar, while uttering many things contrary to the dogmas or practices of Christianity, declared he had been thus taught by angels, the messengers of God, with whom he had spoken; and that he was himself a prophet, and infallible; and Gertrude maintained she had held intercourse in the spirit and in

<sup>1</sup> *Quietism*. The doctrine of a sect of Christians, who taught man's chief duty was the contemplation and love of God.

<sup>2</sup> *Molinism*. The doctrine of Quietism,

as it was first taught by a Spanish priest. Michael Molinos, in the seventeenth century. He died 1696.

the body with God, that she was pure and holy, and made other declarations, equally indicative of a disturbed reason. The inquisitors and theologians attached to the Holy Office, had frequent disputes with these unhappy beings, who, like all insane persons, obstinately adhered to their opinions, and repeated their ravings and heresies. Shut up in prison, the woman for twenty-five years, and the friar for eighteen (he passed the remaining seven in penance in the monastery of San Domenico), they endured the severest torments, torture, the scourge, hunger and thirst, until at last the longed-for hour of execution arrived. The inquisitors had condemned both to death by sentences confirmed by the Bishop of Albarucin, resident at Vienna, and by the Grand Inquisitor of Spain; obedient to whom, the devout Emperor Charles VI. ordered the act to be executed with the solemnity of an *auto-da-fé*. In the sentence of condemnation, the virtues, gentleness, and clemency of the Holy Tribunal were set forth, and their humanity and mercy held up in contrast with the malignant spirit, impiety, and contumacy of the two culprits. The necessity of maintaining the discipline of the most sacred Catholic religion was further insisted on, in order to efface the scandal and vindicate the indignation of Christendom.

On the 6th April of that year, 1724, in the square of San Erasmo, the largest in the city of Palermo, preparations were made for the execution. A high cross was elevated in the centre, painted white, and enclosed on either side by a pile, each about ten braccia<sup>1</sup> in height, covered by a wooden scaffolding like a stage, which was reached by steps; a stake was driven into the floor above each pile; altars were erected in different parts of the square, and richly decorated galleries were arranged in the form of an amphitheatre, facing the cross. In the midst of them rose a more elevated building of larger dimensions, very elaborately ornamented with velvet, gilt ribbons, and the emblems of religion. This was intended for the inquisitors; the remaining galleries were for the viceroy, the archbishop, and the senate; for the nobles, clergy, magistrates and ladies; while the people stood below. At the first dawn of day the bells sounded to penance; the processions then commenced, composed of friars, priests, and confraternities, who, passing through all the streets of the city, walked

<sup>1</sup> *Braccia*, nearly two feet.

round the cross, and ranged themselves in the places assigned them. The square was crowded from daybreak, and the galleries were filled with spectators, who arrived in parties, or singly, and all attired in gala dresses, to witness the sacrifice : the space below was likewise filled with the people, waiting the arrival of the victims.

It was already past two in the afternoon, and tables laden with provisions, filled the galleries, changing the scene prepared for gloom into one of festivity. In the midst of this gaiety, the first who arrived was the unhappy Gertrude, bound upon a car, in a dark dress, her hair dishevelled, and a tall paper cap on her head, on which her name was inscribed, with paintings representing the flames of hell. The car, drawn by black oxen, and preceded by a long procession of friars, was escorted by a convoy of princes and dukes, mounted on superb horses ; and followed by the three father inquisitors riding white mules. On the arrival of the cortege, the prisoner was consigned to other Dominican friars and theologians for the last pretended forms of conversion ; another cortege then appeared, resembling the first, conveying Brother Romualdo ; and the inquisitors took their seats in the magnificent tribune prepared for them.

These formalities being ended, the obstinacy of the culprits was proclaimed in a loud voice, and their sentences read in Latin ; the woman was the first to ascend the scaffold ; and the two friars who acted as executioners, bound her to the stake, and set fire to her hair, which had been previously anointed with resinous ointments, that the flames might continue burning round her head ; after setting fire to her clothes, which were also impregnated with resin, they left her. The unhappy woman, now alone upon the scaffold, whilst groaning with pain, and the flames burning around and beneath her, fell along with the cover of the pile on which she was standing ; and having disappeared bodily, the spectators were still made aware of her existence by her shrieks ; while flames and smoke concealed the insulted cross of Christ. Brother Romualdo perished on the other pile, in the same manner, after having witnessed the torments of his companion. Among the spectators might be remarked a dingy, melancholy group of twenty-six prisoners of the Holy Office, who had been forced to witness the ceremony ; they alone, among the crowd, wept over

the scene,—for the remainder, either from cowardice, ignorance, a false idea of religion, or abject superstition, applauded the infamous sacrifice. The three inquisitors were Spanish monks. I refrain from naming those who volunteered their assistance, that I may not disgrace their descendants, who have, we may trust, improved since the days of their fathers ; but they are registered in other pages, for public virtue rarely, and still more rarely public vice, can remain hidden. Antonio Mongitore<sup>1</sup> describes this scene in a thick volume, and both by his words and opinions shows himself a devout partisan of the Holy Office. Praised as he has been for his other works, and, above all, for the *Bibliotheca Siciliana*, he is a glaring instance how the mild character of a student in the pursuit of literature, can be perverted by the errors of his times, and by the want of toleration peculiar to his position as a canon of the cathedral.

In the year 1730, there were indications of a renewal of hostilities ; for France, Spain, and England, incited by the secret intrigues of Hanover, were preparing armies and fleets, and the Emperor Charles VI., warned of their designs, sent a fresh supply of soldiers to reinforce the States of Milan and the Sicilies. That same year, when, by the death of Benedict XIII., Clement XII. ascended the Papal throne, the celebrated king, Victor Amedeus resigned his kingdom to his son Charles Emanuel, and retired into private life in the castle of Chambéry. Some years previously, a greater monarch, Philip V., had relinquished his kingdom, to pass his life in devout exercises (as he professed) in the castle of San Ildefonso ; but after eight months, upon the death of his son Louis, he resumed the crown, and governed as feebly and with as much duplicity as before. Amedeus likewise soon grew weary of his retirement at Chambéry, and wished to resume the government, but he was opposed in his project by the king, his son, who soon afterwards sent him a prisoner to the castle of Rivoli, and thence to that of Moncalieri, where he died miserably in confinement, denied the sight of his friends, and even of his wife and son.

<sup>1</sup> Antonio Mongitore, born at Palermo, 1663 ; he entered the priesthood, was made a canon of the cathedral, and became one of the judges of the diocese, and councillor

of the Holy Office. He died 1743. His life was devoted to antiquarian research, and he published many works.

After two years' preparations (1732-35), the Infant of Spain, Don Charles, arrived in Italy to show himself to his future subjects, the people of Tuscany, Parma, and Piacenza. A singular ceremony took place in the royal palace of Spain at his departure; the day he was to leave, King Philip and his Queen Elizabeth received him seated upon their thrones, in the presence of the whole Court; and the Infant Don Charles, as was the custom of his family, knelt down before his father, in token of filial respect, while Philip, making the sign of a large cross over his son's head, raised him to his feet, girded on a sword, richly adorned with gold and gems, and addressed him in these words: "This is the sword which Louis XIV., my grandfather, placed at my side, when he sent me to conquer these realms of Spain; may it bring thee entire success, without the calamity of a long war." Kissing him on the cheek, he then dismissed him. Soon after the departure of Don Charles, five large French armies, conducted by the old Marshal Villars, descended by as many routes into Italy, and renewing the war in Lombardy, met with signal success. Upon this a powerful fleet of Spanish ships weighed anchor from the ports of Leghorn and Longone, and an army collected in the States of Parma and Tuscany, either nominally or actually under the direction of the Infant, with the Count di Montemar as his adviser, approached Naples in a menacing attitude. I will defer the account of this enterprise, which was the commencement of the new State, to a future chapter. It is here sufficient to mention, that before the end of the first half of the year 1735, all the country and inhabitants of the Two Sicilies had submitted to King Charles of Bourbon.

In the events of past history to which I have hitherto referred, I have only described the governments of Naples and Sicily as they were bandied from dynasty to dynasty, by wars and conquests; were I to pause here, the reader would be presented with nothing but scenes of violence on the part of the great, and of endurance in the people; but the growth of civilisation amidst such frequent changes of government, or rather the condition of the laws, tribunals, finances, and administration, as well as the state of the army and church, and the tenure of fiefs, are matters of greater importance. It is indeed impossible to give their history from beginning to end, which would exceed the limits of this

work, and the ability of the writer, but I may here state what they were in the year 1734, when Charles of Bourbon ascended the throne of the Sicilies.

With the fall of the Roman empire fell its laws, and they were followed by the written laws of the Lombards. When this people were vanquished by the Normans, their laws acquired greater authority, because retained by an enemy and conqueror. Though at first scattered, they were subsequently collected in one volume; but whosoever may chance to read the copy preserved in the archives of the Trinità della Cava, must not expect to find a methodical arrangement of legislative matter, since the division into codes is an invention of modern science. The laws of Rome continued valid with the clergy, but, though preserved by the learned for their wisdom and traditional worth, were not in force under the secular government, where the king gave his commands, the judges pronounced sentence, and the claims of the citizens were decided according to the book of the Lombard laws.

Though the authority of this last-mentioned code declined, after the Pandects of Justinian had been read and commented on in the schools of Italy, it was still in use, and was increased by the addition of the Norman laws: Roger added thirty-nine, William I. twenty-one, William II. three, all under the name of *Constitutions*. When the kingdom passed to the house of Swabia, Frederic, desirous that his laws, united with those of the Normans, should be promulgated, collected them in one book, called after him, "The Constitutions of Frederic II." The compilation of written laws was afterwards increased by chapters added by the race of Anjou, and by the *Pragmatic Sanctions*<sup>1</sup> of the Arragonese sovereigns, and, when the kingdom became a Spanish, and afterwards a German province, many laws under the designation of *Pragmatic Sanctions*, were issued by the kings of Spain, the emperors of Germany, and by their viceroys. Amidst all these changes of government and legislation, several cities continued to govern themselves by usage.

When Charles of Bourbon, therefore, began his reign, there were eleven modes of legislation in existence, by all of which the king-

<sup>1</sup> *Pragmatic Sanctions*. Solemn Decrees; a term used in several decrees famous in history, but always applied when an import-

ant question was decided by the despotic verdict of the sovereign.

dom was governed; some were the decrees of princes, others ancient laws which had not yet been revoked, and others again the authority of usage. They were the ancient Roman law, the Lombard, the Norman, the Swabian, that of Anjou, the Arragonese, the Spanish Austrian, the German Austrian, the Feudal, the Ecclesiastical, by which the vast number of persons, and extensive property attached to the Church were governed; and the Greek, consisting in usages practised in Naples, Amalfi, Gaeta, and other cities which had at one time been ruled by officials appointed by the emperors of the East; besides other usages in Bari, and places which traced their origin to Lombard grants. These numerous modes of legislation neutralized one another, and the rights of the citizen, as well as the decisions of the magistrates, were neither in accordance with rules nor any fixed law.

The magistracies of the kingdom consisted of one judge in every community, one tribunal in every province, three in the cities, one council called the Collateral Council, to assist the viceroy, and another called the Italian or Supreme Council,<sup>1</sup> which resided with the king in Spain, when the Spanish monarchs ruled in Naples, and in Germany when the Germans reigned. As the forms of procedure established under Joanna II. were too meagre for their purpose, any deficiency was supplied by usage, or still more frequently by the arbitrary will of the viceroy; and as the power of the magistrates was not clearly defined, any doubt respecting their competency was decided by the command of the Sovereign. Thus matters appertaining to the judicature became involved in those of the administration; right and power, the magistrate and the government, were often confounded. In short, the ignorance of an age in which subjects believed themselves the lawful servants of their superiors, and rulers did not esteem it an injustice to arrogate to themselves supreme power, produced an excess of servility on the one side, and despotism on the other: this system was displayed in its greatest deformity in the way in which trials were

<sup>1</sup> *Supreme Council of Italy.* The affairs of the Italian provinces were directed by a Supreme Council residing at Madrid, though including, besides Spaniards, several natives of Italy. Under this Board stood the four

resident Viceroys of Naples, Milan, Sicily, and Sardinia, who were invariably Spanish nobles.—*Italy and the Italian Islands.* W. Spalding, vol. ii. p. 267.



conducted, and in the decisions of the Judges. The disorders here enumerated created a confused and corrupt court of law. Any one from the lowest of the people, by assuming the lawyer's gown, could call himself an advocate, and was admitted to plead in defence of the rights or persons of the citizens; and as neither study, examination, practice, nor diplomas were requisite for the exercise of this lucrative profession, the importunate swarm of lawyers multiplied daily.

I must now turn to the finances, one of the most important branches of government, and which modern science endeavours to place under such regulations, and to guide by such philosophical maxims, as to enable it to maintain the power of the state, and the prosperity of civilized life; but in the times of which I write, it was usual to employ indiscriminate violence, setting aside order, moderation, and justice; which, while ruining private individuals, was no benefit to society. All property was taxed, as well as articles of consumption, and everything which indicated wealth, even dress, food, and the necessities of life without limit or reason, the only object considered being, how to raise the largest sum. Under the Normans and Swabians, and during the least oppressive reigns, of William the Good, of Frederic II., and Manfred, the barons, clergy, and chief persons in every city, met in Parliament, and fixed the sum to be paid into the exchequer; but this exercise of political rights became less frequent under the Houses of Anjou and Arragon, and ceased entirely under the sordid rule of the viceroys, who had reason to fear assemblies of men, and interchange of thought; or if the rulers sometimes confided the task of proposing new taxes to the municipal corporations (*Seggi*),<sup>1</sup> it was only a stratagem to avoid the danger and obloquy of the hated law. After every imaginable tax had been imposed, and yet neither their rapacity satiated, nor the necessities of the

<sup>1</sup> *Seggi*, the municipal corporation in each of the principal towns. These *Seggi*, *Sedili*, or *Piazze*, were of extreme antiquity, and were modelled on councils of the same sort in the metropolis. Every city had several, all of which (except one in Naples, and in a few other places) were composed exclusively of noble members, and held

purity of patrician blood indispensable to a title of admission. We discover applications by the Crown to the *Seggi* as early as 1449, and there is no record of their having refused to vote any tax asked them. — *Italy and the Italian Islands*. W. Spalding.

State provided for, they resorted to extreme measures, dissipating the property of the Crown, selling titles of nobility and offices, converting the most eminent cities into fiefs, mortgaging the future revenues of the exchequer, or alienating them in a manner called, by a Spanish term, *Arrendamenti*.<sup>1</sup>

The administration of the communal land and revenues was not better provided for than that of the finances; by the constitutions of Frederic II., and therefore from a very early period, they had been confided to a syndie and two eletti, chosen by the people in so general a Parliament, that none were excluded from voting, except women, children, the debtors of the community, and those rendered infamous by a judicial sentence, or by their lives. They met on a certain day in summer in the public square, and the choice was determined by acclamation, as it was seldom necessary to count the names in order to ascertain who was elected. This franchise having no parallel in the other institutions of the country, and being in advance of the political education of the people, was a source of license and tumults. Only two forms of administration were recognised; that of the municipality and that of the Sovereign; the numberless relations of municipality to municipality, to circles, districts, and provinces, were neglected, or provided for by peculiar arbitrary rules. The administration of the kingdom, in which the supreme will of the Sovereign was neither led, regulated, nor controlled, by any code, wanted that necessary guidance of law which is the sure road to political freedom. Public works were few, and the money which under a well-regulated government would have been expended for the common benefit, was turned to the profit of the exchequer; the only new buildings were convents, churches, and other religious edifices, or monuments of regal splendour. The arts, therefore, were few and unimportant, and there was only one road in the kingdom, that to Rome. The commerce carried on by sea with foreign nations was insignificant, and there was no traffic by land; the rivers overflowed their beds, the woods were grown into wild forests, agriculture was in a primitive condition, the flocks and herds wandered over the country, and the population was wretched and decreasing.

<sup>1</sup> *Arrendamenti*, the purchase made by private individuals of the right of collecting the public revenue.

By a strange aberration in the history of the human intellect, letters and the sciences revived in the midst of all this political misery; not, indeed, from any care on the part of the Government, for in this, as in all that was beneficial, the rulers were indolent, or opposed to progress, but by a fortuitous, or rather providential circumstance, the birth of several men of great genius about the same time. Domenico Aulizio,<sup>1</sup> Pietro Giannone,<sup>2</sup> Gaetano Argento,<sup>3</sup> Giovan Vincenzo Gravina,<sup>4</sup> Nicola Capasso,<sup>5</sup> Niccolò Cirillo,<sup>6</sup> and more than it would be possible to name, were born towards the end of the seventeenth, and lived in the first half of the eighteenth century; a light to their own and succeeding ages. At this period flourished Giovan Battista Vico,<sup>7</sup> a marvel of learning, but whose fame was posthumous, because while admired by all, he was not fully comprehended by any; as years pass on, he is better understood and more honoured, a proof that the obscurity in which he wrapt his meaning was either intentional, or that his works must wait their full development for other times, and a course of study more in harmony with his theories.

The military institutions were even worse than the civil. No

<sup>1</sup> *Domenico Aulizio*, celebrated for his acquaintance with oriental languages, history, and numismatics; born at Naples, 1679, died 1717.

<sup>2</sup> *Pietro Giannone*, the historian of Naples; born 1676, died 1758.

<sup>3</sup> *Gaetano Argento*, a Calabrian lawyer and magistrate of great learning, and a patron of literary men. The friend of Giannone.

<sup>4</sup> *Giovan Vincenzo Gravina*, a critic, moralist, and poet; born 1664, died 1718.

<sup>5</sup> *Nicola Capasso*, a poet, who wrote in the Neapolitan dialect; born 1671, died 1746.

<sup>6</sup> *Niccolò Cirillo*, a learned physician, Fellow of the Royal Society of London when Newton was President; born 1671, died 1734.

<sup>7</sup> *Giovan Battista Vico*, a jurist, philosopher, historian, and critic; born 1668, died 1744: "The man who has anticipated by a century the movements of mind towards modern sciences, who has raised up

questions which down to him were considered to be resolved, or to be insoluble; who has carried the investigations of a criticism the most intrepid into documents by all antiquity respected; who never bent himself before established prejudice; who has accomplished the double enterprise of destroying and reconstructing universal history; who has treated upon all the sciences without being precisely acquainted with any one, and who bequeathed to each of them some fecund teaching; the man who has almost divined all the discoveries of the nineteenth century; who, appertaining to an age and a country wherein thought was never free, seemed to ignore that the saying of everything to everybody was to expose himself to be comprehended by nobody; the man whose genius recalls the mighty intellects of Plato and Aristotle, deserves to be followed step by step in the development of his glorious intelligence, and in the vicissitudes of his long and unhappy life."—GLYDDON'S *Types of Mankind*.

means were too lawless to be made use of in the levy of soldiers. Bribery and corruption were not spared ; a selection was made from condemned criminals and other prisoners ; vagabonds were seized, and the vassals of feudal lords forced to serve at the arbitrary bidding of the barons ; the only fair means by which to recruit an army, namely, selection by lot, was not employed. The worst characters of the city were thus chosen to fill the most honourable profession the citizen can hold, and were sent to distant wars in Italy, or still more frequently into Spain, where, in the Spanish uniform, under a foreign standard, they fought for a name and glory not their own. While Neapolitans were engaged in a perpetual and inglorious war, Naples was sunk in the torpor of sluggish servitude ; there was no system of militia within the country, which was guarded by foreign soldiers, at a time when the natives were obliged to submit to a foreign discipline in the land of the stranger ; the arts of war learnt abroad, were useless at home, and the blood and sweat of our countrymen shed no glory on us : Thus military discipline, military habits, exercises, tradition, fame, and sentiment were wanting, and the name of soldier, so honoured in other lands, was in Naples associated with the idea of suffering, and was held in abhorrence.

Feudalism itself had lost the sense of honour. Its decline under the rule of the viceroys, was not caused by laws, nor by any intention to debase its power, but by its own corruption, and the depravity of the rulers. The barons, no longer warriors, and neither the props nor the antagonists of thrones, had become careless of those deeds which excite admiration in a generous nobility ; they were lazy and domineering within their castles, where they revelled in the tyranny they exercised over degenerate vassals. The avaricious viceroys meantime sold fiefs, titles, and high offices, and raised the lowest people to the baronage provided they were rich, thus degrading the feudal dignity. On the arrival of King Charles of Bourbon, therefore, the feudal landholders, though powerful in the eye of the law, were in themselves base, corrupt, hated and feared ; not feared for their greatness, but for their crimes.

We have yet to speak of the Church. Whoever would desire to give a true and detailed account of the lives and actions of the

Popes, must include the political history of all Italy ; for that of the Pontificate is closely interwoven with wars, treaties, revolutions, changes of government, and with the arrest and even retrograde movement of civilisation. In the kingdom of Naples alone, the intrigues of the Popes first impeded and then extinguished all the political advantages conferred by the Swabian race ; the Popes rendered the evils inflicted by the race of Anjou twofold, and nourished the civil wars under the Arragonese monarchs. Nicolas III. conspired in the Sicilian Vespers ; Innocent VIII. planned the rebellion and the baronial war against Ferdinand and Alphonso ; Alexander VI. did not disdain to conspire with Bajazet, the Turkish sultan, to disturb the peace of the Christian kingdom of the Sicilies, and during the long course of the viceregal government, the Popes kindled discord now among the rulers, and now among their subjects, whichever best served to advance the monstrous pretensions of the Church.

It is a decree of nature, or rather of Divine Providence, that those who prepare evil for others, fall into the snare themselves ; and the worst of these popes were likewise the most miserable and unfortunate. The Papacy suffered great adversities during this period ; hardly had it recovered from the divisions and scandal of the schism, when the doctrines of Luther, and the Reformation followed, with the unhappy wars and imprisonment of Clement VII., the refusal of the kings of Christendom to accept all the acts of the Council of Trent, or the bull of *Cœna Domini* ; the revival of the so-called monarchy of Sicily ; the revolutions of Naples caused by the Inquisition ; the dismissal of the nuncios, and the abolition of the Court of Nunciature ; in short, the open revolt of the civil power, and of public opinion, against the domination of the Church.

The pontifical pride would have been still further humbled, had it not been supported in its decline by new orders of monks, and by its enormous wealth. As there is no census belonging to this period, many facts, important to history, remain unknown. It would be necessary to learn the exact number of ecclesiastics, and the amount of their possessions, in order to estimate the influence of the priesthood over the people ; but the most diligent research and long study have proved insufficient for this purpose, because the

writers of that time, if devoted to the Church, ashamed of her ill-gotten wealth, gave a false statement, and those who were her enemies endeavoured to increase the scandal by exaggerating the truth. Between these contradictory reports, I will offer the most probable conjecture. In the kingdom of Naples alone, the ecclesiastics numbered about one hundred and twelve thousand ; namely, 22 archbishops, 116 bishops, 56,500 priests, 31,800 friars, and 23,600 nuns. Therefore in a state containing four millions of inhabitants, the ecclesiastics were in proportion to the population twenty-eight to every thousand ; an excess which was injurious to morals, because they were under the vow of celibacy, and to industry and national wealth, as they were all idle. The city of Naples alone maintained 16,500.

The most cautious writers reckon the possessions of the Church at two-thirds of the property of the country, exclusive of the royal domains ; while others (who, however, maintain that they are better informed) affirm that four parts out of five were enjoyed by the Church ; but both statements are exaggerated.

At the time of the arrival of King Charles of Bourbon, the Apostolic See claimed supremacy over kings and kingdoms, as arrogantly as in the times of Gregory VII., but as its moral influence had diminished, this was only supported by the number of ecclesiastics, and by their inordinate wealth.

Briefly to recapitulate the matter contained in this chapter : The temporal power of the Church was as strong as ever ; religious faith as great, or greater than formerly, but faith in the ministers of religion and the pontiff weakened ; the feudal system entire, but the feudal lords contemptible in the eyes of the people ; there was no army, and the civil administration was fraudulent and full of errors ; the finances were exhausted, poor at the present moment, and with the prospect of becoming still poorer ; the codes of law were confused, and the tribunals filled by a vast assemblage of intriguing and corrupt lawyers ; though the Neapolitans were the slaves of many prejudices, they were opposed to the fallen government and desirous of better. Therefore necessity, the opinions and desires of the people, a new dynasty, and the interests of the new king, as well the genius of the age, all invited reforms.

## CHAPTER II.

## CONQUEST OF THE SICILIES BY THE INFANT CHARLES OF BOURBON.

CHARLES, a son of the prosperous and arrogant House of Spain, was born to Philip v. by Elizabeth Farnese, in an age of wars and conquests, in the year 1716. The eldest child by the second marriage, he was without a kingdom. His haughty mother, who could ill brook the lesser appanage of her sons, and who, by her superior intellect, ruled the state and the king, who was fearless in disasters, yet knew how to bend before adversity, succeeded by bold wars and wise treaties, in obtaining for Charles the ducal crowns of Tuscany and Parma. In 1733, her hopes were re-awakened,<sup>1</sup> and she caused armies and fleets to be prepared to conquer the Sicilies. The youthful Charles was enjoying the pleasures of sovereignty in Parma, when he received intimation by official letters from Philip, and by private letters from the queen, of new schemes, and of new and powerful agents to insure their success. Spain, France, and the King of Sardinia were leagued together against the Empire ; a numerous French army, under the direction of Berwick was crossing the Rhine ; French and Sardinian troops, under Villars, were descending into Lombardy ; Spanish infantry was disembarking in Genoa, and cavalry and horses were on their way to Antibes ; while a powerful and numerous fleet ruled the seas of Italy. The Spanish forces were to be under the direction of the Count di Montemar, but, for the honour and dignity of the name, were placed under the supreme command of the Infant

<sup>1</sup> By the war in Europe for the succession to the Polish throne, contested by Augustus, Elector of Saxony, son of Augustus II. King of Poland, whose claims were supported by the Courts of Vienna and St. Petersburg, and Stanislaus Leczinski Palatine of Posen, ex-king of Poland, and

father of Marie Leczinski, queen of Louis xv. of France, cousin to Philip of Spain. Elizabeth seized on this pretext to invade the Austrian dominions, and obtain Naples for her son Charles.—See Tocqueville, *Règne de Louis xv.*, vol. i. p. 375

Don Charles. The aim of this enterprise was to vanquish the imperial troops beyond the Rhine ; to drive them out of Lombardy, and to conquer the Sicilies ; “ which, when raised to the rank of an independent kingdom,” wrote the mother to her son, “ shall be thine. Go, then, and conquer, for the fairest crown of Italy awaits thee.”

Charles was at an age (seventeen years) when a man is most easily excited by harmless ambition. The son of a king inclined for war, and of a queen insatiable in her thirst for power and greatness, eager for a more extensive empire than the Duchies of Tuscany and Parma, and abetted in this enterprise, though covertly, by Pope Clement XII., he entertained no doubt of his right to the Sicilies, which he claimed by the ancient dominion of former kings of Spain, as well as by the more recent dominion of his father ; and he commiserated the Sicilian people, of whose sufferings under the imperial government, exaggerated statements were circulated in the palace of Philip ; therefore, right, religion, humanity, and his own interests alike urged him to this enterprise. The excellent dispositions with which he had been born, had been blunted by the contagion of a court ; but kind-hearted by nature, and possessed of an understanding above his years, he was just and charitable to his subjects, temperate, though aspiring ; affable in his manners, with an agreeable countenance, robust and tall in person, and fond of manly exercises and the art of war.

Whilst the Spanish troops were collecting in the neighbourhood of Sienna and Arezzo, and the Spanish fleet was transporting soldiers, horses, and artillery, the Infant assembled a council of his most illustrious generals at Parma, to determine the plan of the expedition to Naples. After appointing a regency, and promulgating ordinances for the good government of his states, he departed, followed by the prayers of his people, and amidst all manner of rejoicings. Once more at Florence, he visited Gian Gastone, the last and declining Grand Duke of the House of Medici, passed through Sienna and Arezzo, and arrived in Perugia, in March 1734, reviewed all the troops under his command. Sixteen thousand infantry and five thousand cavalry from the kingdoms of Spain, Italy, and France were there assembled under Montemar ; and among the most distinguished officers were the Duke of Berwick,



of the blood of the British kings, the Count de Marsillac, a Frenchman, many grandees of Spain, and the Duke of Eboli; the Prince Caracciolo Torella and Don Niccolò di Sangro, Neapolitans. The Infant Charles was seated during this review, and surrounded by a numerous court, resplendent in rich dresses and banners. The Count di Santo Stefano, formerly preceptor, and now the adviser of the Infant, was present, as well as the Prince Corsini, nephew of the Pope, the Count de Charny of the blood-royal, and at least a hundred dukes and barons; among them, attired in the simple fashion, and with the modest demeanour of a Tuscan, was Bernardo Tanucci, the year before an advocate in Pisa, and professor of law, who had found favour with Charles, by his high attainments in his science,<sup>1</sup> and had been appointed auditor of the Spanish army, and counsellor in the civil affairs of the kingdom. The eminence he afterwards attained leads me to add further, that he was born of poor parents, in the year 1698, in Stia, a small town of the Casentino; he was by nature endowed with talents, which were improved by study, and was a man of liberal views for his times, when to oppose the pretensions of the Papacy was considered liberty. Such was Tanucci, in Pisa, and in due time I will relate what he became in Naples when raised by Charles to the position of prime minister.

After the review at Perugia, the army sent on towards Naples, was well received in the Pontifical States, and was maintained with honour. They were met by the Pope's legates, some of whom remained with the camp, whilst others were detained near the person of Charles. But, although the court of Rome was inclined to wish success to Spain, yet, remembering the mutability of fate, she concealed her favourable disposition from the ministers of the Emperor. Montemar, fearing lest the imperial squadrons should come up unexpectedly behind his columns, strengthened his rear by a strong body of troops, and proceeded in such an order that he could turn the greater part of his forces to any front.

<sup>1</sup> Tanucci attracted the notice of Charles in the following manner. A soldier of the Spanish army committed a crime, and sought refuge in a church, but was arrested by order of the king. The Tuscan clergy interfered, claiming immunity of the church,

when Tanucci, then a professor at Pisa, supported the royal authority, and demonstrated the abuse of ecclesiastical immunities, especially in criminal cases.—*Mémoires Secrets des Cours de l'Italie*.

When the report reached Naples, that a Spanish army was advancing against the kingdom, the people were agitated by new hopes, and the imperial ministers by their fears, while preparations were made for the reception of the enemy. Giulio Visconti was viceroy, and Count Francis Traun commanded the forces, and as they were unable to conceal the danger, they thought by at once declaring it to weaken its effect. The viceroy issued an edict proclaiming war; and, summoning the Eletti of the people to meet him in the palace, he acquainted them with the hopes, means, and intentions of the enemy, as well as his own; he assured them that the fortresses were well supplied, the garrisons strong, troops were expected from Sicily, and in still greater numbers from Germany, an army of twenty thousand imperialists, conducted by the valiant Marshal Mercy, was in the rear of the Spanish army, and he trusted to the people's attachment to the Emperor, and to the Divine aid in a just cause; he proceeded to entreat the Eletti to co-operate with the government, by increasing the store of provisions, by maintaining the fidelity of the commonalty, and by paying the promised donation of six hundred thousand ducats into the exchequer. The replies of the Eletti were humble yet confident, and as is usual with the representatives of a discontented people, in the midst of present dangers, promised succour at some distant time.

The viceroy convoked another council of war; Count Traun and General Caraffa, a Neapolitan in the pay of the Emperor, were of opposite opinions. Traun proposed to distribute the troops in the fortresses; thus force the enemy to several sieges, and by opposing detached portions of the army to him in different places, protract the war, until the arrival of aid from Germany. Caraffa advocated a bolder course; to diminish the garrisons of Pescara, Capua, Gaeta, and Sant' Elmo, to evacuate and demolish the remaining fortresses and castles, to form a sufficient army to withstand the enemy, and to await the arrival of succour, while skirmishing in the open field; thus avoiding any decisive action, unless military reasons could be assigned to prove victory certain. The opinion of Traun prevailed. The fortresses and castles were well garrisoned, a strong camp was formed in the pass of San Mignano, protected by entrenchments and batteries, while messen-

gers were sent to entreat the Emperor to hasten his succours. Twenty-five thousand Germans were dispersed throughout the Two Sicilies, to oppose the united army of Charles, which was inferior in numbers, and without the aid of strong places or fortified positions.

At the same time, the viceroy sent envoys into the provinces to raise troops, to collect treasure and provisions, and by arming every city and village, provide for the defence of the kingdom. These envoys were selected from the highest nobility. The civic guard likewise was organized in the metropolis, and the chief cities of the kingdom. A regiment of Neapolitans was raised, composed of volunteers, and of men levied at the care and expense of the Duke di Monteleone-Pignatelli; finally, by enlisting as soldiers men who had been confined in the prisons, or fugitives guilty of crimes, arms were placed in the hands of every Neapolitan subject, good or bad.

Tyrants have the presumption to expect their subjects will serve them as slaves, yet defend them as heroes, forgetful that by the eternal law of nature, sooner or later, either in their own persons, or in those of their descendants, they will pay for the cruelties they have practised against the people, at the price of their kingdom or their blood.

All that Visconti had hitherto ordered, though ill-judged and inadequate, had not exceeded the limits of law, but worse followed. Some of the nobles who had spoken in council with freedom for the good of the State, were, by his order, without trial or examination, sent into confinement in Germany. Much of the private money which had been deposited in the banks, or paid into court, was confiscated to the exchequer, and the city was forced by threats to disburse a hundred and fifty thousand ducats. In the midst of so much violence practised toward the people, the deference shown to ecclesiastics incurred the more odium; when asked to lend their assistance to Government, some gave but little, while others wholly refused, yet they were neither forced to pay nor reprimanded. The vice-queen, who was in infirm health, departed with her family to seek shelter in Rome. The archives of the monarchy were sent for safety to Gaeta and Terracina, and the viceroy himself made secret preparations to quit the city.

The Spanish army proceeding onwards, traversed the States of Rome, without attempting to enter the city, as the Infant had been requested by the Pontiff to avoid all collision with the ambassadors of the Emperor; and passing along by the road of Valmontone and Frosinone, they had nearly reached the frontiers of the kingdom. Before their arrival, however, more Spanish troops had landed on the territory of Naples. Count Clavico, the admiral of the Spanish fleet, having weighed anchor from the ports of Longone and Leghorn, arrived with a powerful armament before the islands of Procida and Ischia, which immediately surrendered; for, these islands being incapable of defence, the garrisons had shortly before been withdrawn, by a wise precaution of the Government. The islanders welcomed the conquerors, and swore fealty to the Infant: whilst Spanish ships, cruising and fighting along the shores bordering the city, roused the hopes or fears of those within, according to the side they had embraced.

The Neapolitans, beginning to hold communication with the officers on board these ships, a great number of the edicts of Philip v. and Charles were dispersed throughout the city. Philip announced that he had resolved upon this expedition, for the sake of the people, oppressed by the harsh government and exactions of the Germans; he reminded them of the joyful welcome they had formerly given him, and he expressed his confidence (in spite of contradictory appearances, and the necessity they were under to control their feelings), that his subjects were still faithful; but if changed, he was ready to pardon their misdemeanours and treason. He promised to confirm the privileges of the city and of the kingdom, and even to increase them; to abolish the burdens imposed by the German government, to diminish others, and to rule the State as a father; and he hoped in return, to receive from his people the obedience and love of children. Charles swore to fulfil the promises made by Philip, and added, that the ecclesiastical discipline should continue under the same good regulations they had hitherto preserved, and that no tribunal should be added to those already in existence. Thus the fear of the abhorred inquisition vanished, and the interest of the large class of lawyers was secured. The edict of Philip was dated from the Pardo, the 7th February, that of his son from Civita Castellana, the 14th March.

The Spanish army having passed the frontiers at Liri without opposition, halted one day at Aquino, and three at San Germano. The Germans having resolved upon their plan of operations, waited the approach of the enemy in the fortresses and castles, increasing their stores of arms and provisions, and the strength of their garrisons. Count Traun with five thousand soldiers, held the entrenchments of Mignano; and the viceroy, while draining the country for fresh supplies of money, awaited coming events in a state of harassing suspense. An occurrence which shortly followed, in the night of the 30th March, accelerated the good fortune of the Spanish army and the defeat of their opponents. Some mountaineers of Sesto (a small village), well acquainted with the forests which rise above Mignano, offered to conduct the Duke of Eboli at the head of four thousand Spaniards, secure and unobserved, to the flank and rear of the German lines. The offer being accepted, rewards promised, and punishments threatened, the Spaniards reached the place, and sent intelligence to the Count di Montemar, in order that at the hour predetermined, the attack on the enemy's camp in the front, flank, and rear, should commence. The cannon of Montemar was to give the signal for the Duke of Eboli to advance; but a vidette of Germans, having discovered the party, a speedy messenger was sent to Traun, informing him of the position of the enemy, and exaggerating their numbers. The German general, who had believed these mountains inaccessible, having by fresh scouts ascertained the truth of the report, broke up his camp, spiked the heavy artillery, burnt the carriages, and in the night withdrew his troops into the fortress of Capua, abandoning in the hurry of his flight the rest of his cannon, baggage and matériel, which became the spoil of the Duke of Eboli, who, at daybreak, perceiving the entrenchments deserted, descended the hill, and sent the joyful intelligence to the commander-in-chief.

When the affair of Mignano was reported in Naples, with all the exaggerations added by fame and party spirit, the insolent populace gained courage; and as the Spanish fleet always continued in sight of the city, the decks covered with soldiers and banners, the viceroy perceived the danger of further delay, and departed at sunset on the 3d April, with his Germans and

auxiliaries. They escaped like fugitives, without the customary honours or proclamations, through the least populous parts of the city, in the direction of Avellino, and from thence to Puglia. The magistrates and the militia took charge of the city, which was left without a head or means of defence.

After having been six days upon the road, the Infant arrived at Maddaloni; thus slowly advancing, on purpose to allow time to spread reports of the good discipline of his army, and the liberality of the new prince. Queen Elizabeth Farnese, enriched by the treasures lately arrived from Mexico, had given part to the Infant for the conquest of Naples, and he distributed them in a munificent spirit and with a lavish hand among the people: he paid for his provisions, bestowed gifts and alms, and, as was customary at that time, frequently desired money to be thrown in handfuls amidst the multitude. Entering the city of Maddaloni, he was met by a numerous body of Neapolitan nobles, who came to offer their services as a guard of honour; the Eletti of Naples next followed, deputed to present him with the keys of the city, wish him success, and promise fidelity and obedience: they concluded their harangue by asking the confirmation of the privileges of the city. Charles replied in Spanish, and confirmed their privileges in his own name, and in that of his father, the King of Spain; he spent the rest of that day in the presence of his people, shooting the pigeons which had built their nests in the towers of the ducal palace; and for many consecutive days he was engaged in the chase, as he had likewise been at Alifi and San Germano: for neither the anxieties of war, nor the cares of government, could ever divert him from his favourite passion, which as he grew old, hardened the heart of this good prince, often cast a blemish on his virtues, and even sometimes exposed his life to danger.

The following day, the 10th April, he removed his quarters from Maddaloni to Aversa, and held a council to consider the exigencies of war and of the kingdom. He appointed the Count di Charny his lieutenant, to restore order in the cities and in the provinces; commanded that the tribunals, suspended during the agitations of war, should resume their functions, and sent Count Marsillac with six thousand soldiers to occupy the city, land the siege artillery, and lay siege to Baja and three of the forts; as

the fourth (Il Carmine), was without a garrison, and stood with open gates. Other squadrons were encamped on the plains of Sessa, to hinder the garrisons of Capua and Gaeta from communicating with the provinces, or making sorties in search of provisions. Lastly, the main body of the army was sent towards Puglia, to attack the viceroy, who having united his troops with those of General Caraffa and Prince Pignatelli, and with others arrived from Sicily and Trieste, was scouring the provinces with eight thousand soldiers. But the Duke of Eboli, who commanded the Spaniards, was advancing slowly, waiting the assault of the castles within the city, and these obstacles removed, to have more troops at his disposal, in case of need.

After a short siege, a breach being opened, the fort of Baja surrendered on the 23d of April; the castle of Sant' Elmo yielded on the 25th, and the Castello dell' Uovo on the 2d May. The Nuovo held out rather longer (only because the assailants changed the plan of the siege in the midst of their operations, and invested it by another side), but on the 6th May it opened its gates. The garrisons of the four castles were all taken prisoners. The Spanish army only lost a few in killed and wounded, and was amply compensated for this loss by the abundant supply of provisions and artillery found there, which last they immediately transferred to the siege of the larger fortresses. At the time these castles were built (useful in their generation), they were adapted to the weapons of the period, and to the science of war as it was then commonly understood. They are now only a waste of men and of provisions, citadels to be turned against the people, and a protection and encouragement to tyrants. When, in some future age, the rulers of Naples, protected by law, justice, and order, do not fear rebellion, it will be the wisdom of the government to enlarge the small castle of Sant' Elmo, so as to enable it to receive a strong garrison of 3000 soldiers, and demolish the three remaining castles of the city, leaving only the batteries for the defence of the harbour.

The metropolis being now delivered from every vestige of the past government, the Infant went there in regal state on the 10th May, amidst extraordinary rejoicings of the people, for their hopes in the new sovereign were great, and their joy was increased

by the gold and silver coin which the treasurer scattered profusely in the streets of the city. Charles made his entry in the morning by the Capuan gate, but being desirous of first returning thanks to God for his successes, he descended in the suburban church of San Francesco, and remained in that monastery until four in the afternoon, when he entered the city, mounted upon a charger, and attired in a rich dress, adorned with magnificent jewels; his first care was to visit the cathedral, to receive the sacerdotal benediction from the hands of Cardinal Pignatelli, to join with devotion in the sacred ceremonies, and to adorn the statue of St. Januarius with a costly chain of rubies and diamonds. Having completed this sacred rite, he continued his way to the palace, and, passing before the dungeons of the Vicaria<sup>1</sup> and of San Giacomo, he received the keys, in acknowledgment of his sovereignty, and commanded the doors to be thrown open, and the prisoners set free—an act of magnanimous folly. The city was gay with rejoicings; the troops lining the streets, or placed as sentinels round the palace, belonged to the civic guard, and fireworks and illuminations lasted throughout the night.

But the festivities within the city did not put an end to the fear of war, which was still raging in Lombardy. The neighbouring and rich island of Sicily continued to pay tribute to the Emperor; an imperial army occupied Puglia, and the largest fortresses of the kingdom were guarded by numerous garrisons, led by celebrated captains, who defended the standard and dominion of the Empire. The viceroy was expecting large reinforcements, and it was said that already 6000 Croats were on the eve of arriving at Manfredonia, while the people, who now sided with the Bourbons, would undoubtedly change with fortune. The state of the kingdom appeared favourable for Charles, but was not secure. Count Montemar, therefore, having visited Capua and Gaeta, and pressed their blockade, marched with fresh troops towards Puglia, and, joining the Duke of Eboli, formed an army of 12,000 soldiers,

<sup>1</sup> *The Vicaria*, once the residence of the Norman kings; contains various courts of justice, the archives of the kingdom, documents, acts and edicts of the sovereigns

of the house of Anjou, and the Constitutions of Frederic II. The dungeons below, still in use, are described by recent visitors as loathsome abodes of misery and vice.



infantry and cavalry, supported by a large fleet, which sailed close in to shore, accelerating or slackening their speed, and regulating their movements by those of the army on land. The Infant, meantime, employed the arts of peace to advance his cause; he issued an edict, summoning all the barons of the kingdom to swear allegiance to the new government, within a given time, and threatening defaulters with punishment. The following day, the 15th June of the year 1734, he published the decree of Philip v., who thereby ceded his ancient and newly-recovered rights to the Sicilies, now united into one independent kingdom, to his son Charles, born of his happy nuptials with Elizabeth Farnese. The new king caused himself to be proclaimed, Charles, by the grace of God, King of the two Sicilies and Jerusalem, Infant of Spain, Duke of Parma, Piacenza, and Castro, and Hereditary Grand Prince of Tuscany. He designed the royal arms, by annexing to the national arms of the two Sicilies three golden lilies for the house of Spain, six azure for that of Tuscany, and six red balls for that of Medici. The civic festivities and the festivals of the Church were renewed, and the king added another to the popular games, in the Coccagna,<sup>1</sup> a vast machine, intended to represent the Garden of the Hesperides, covered with rich gifts, which, as all were allowed to enter, while the access was made intricate and the prize difficult to reach, was meant to tempt the cupidity, or call forth the dexterity of the people. Charles, from the roof of the palace, was, with youthful ardour, enjoying the sight of the amusing incidents of the game, when part of the machinery, which was ill constructed, and laden with people, suddenly fell in on one side, dragging down all upon it, and crushing those beneath by its weight. Many were killed, some hundreds wounded, and the square was soon emptied of spectators. The king issued a decree, forbidding similar games in future.

The first act of the sovereign power was to create Bernardo Tanucci Minister of Justice. On the arrival of the Spanish army in Puglia, the viceroy, alarmed, and really incapable of conducting a war, went on board ship and departed, taking with him General Caraffa, accused by Count Traun, and summoned by the Emperor to Vienna to be reprimanded and punished—an unworthy

<sup>1</sup> *Coccagna*, a tall pole from the top of which prizes are suspended.

return for good advice offered and rejected. Prince Belmonte remained at the head of the Germans, who were 8000 soldiers, adventurers rather than regular troops, from various countries, speaking different tongues, and most of them new to discipline and war. Belmonte having stationed his troops in the Basilicata and Puglia, took up his own quarters in Bari, not from military reasons, but for his personal convenience, since there were no strong works attached to the walls of that city. On the first appearance of the enemy he accordingly quitted it, leaving a small garrison, and encamped his army at Bitonto, a stronger city, from its defences being in better condition, and from its having a fortified castle, and long lines of ditches and walls extending into the country, which, though originally meant for agricultural purposes, were not the less useful in defence. He placed 1500 soldiers in the city, who were unfit for field warfare, and ranged the rest of his troops behind the walls and ditches, posting his cavalry to the right of the army, and converting two monasteries, which lay at the extremity of his line, close upon his wings, into castles. This done, he waited the attack of the enemy.

The Spaniard also turned the head of his columns from Bari in the direction of Bitonto, having more numerous forces, all accustomed to war, his cavalry, double the number of the enemy, and an abundant supply of artillery. Arrived in sight of the Germans, he pitched his camp, and the next morning, the 26th May 1734, he caused his men to deploy, extending his lines beyond the enemy's front, and opposing infantry to infantry, and horse to horse; the rest of his cavalry, of which he had a superabundance, were ordered to scour the country to the right, and be prepared for any emergency. He made a trial of the Germans, by attacking them with a small body of his men; but, meeting with resistance, he retreated in disorder, hoping that the enemy, gaining courage, would quit their defences in pursuit, but, as Belmonte was not deceived by these feints, Montemar trusted for victory to open battle, and, advancing his infantry, and urging on his horse, he commenced firing, sounding the drums and trumpets to the charge. At this sight the German cavalry were seized with panic, and, after some little hesitation, broke up in disordered flight towards Bari, all, except Colonel Villani with his 200 hussars, who,

retreating, but in order, took the road of the Abruzzi, and found shelter in Pescara. The departure of the cavalry, so unexpected and so rapid, that it had the appearance of desertion rather than flight, disconcerted the rest of the troops, and, finally, General Belmonte and Prince Strongoli (another general in the pay of the Emperor) abandoned the camp, and followed the fugitives. The victory of Montemar was clear and decisive, for though the battle lasted two more hours by single combats, which were both useless and inglorious, it was only because none remained in the imperial camp to give the order to surrender. The two monasteries were taken by storm; that same day the city and castle of Bitonto yielded, and on the next their example was followed by Bari. A thousand Germans had been killed or wounded, and the remainder made prisoners. The conqueror obtained in booty their arms, artillery, and baggage, while twenty-three standards graced his trophy. The Spanish army lost 300, killed and wounded; the price of a kingdom and of the glory of Montemar, gained less by his own deserts than by the errors of the enemy.

The news of the battle of Bitonto caused the surrender of all the castles in Puglia without a struggle, except those of Brindisi and Lecce. A large body of Spaniards were sent to the Abruzzi. Montemar, with the rest of the troops, returned to Naples; three thousand five hundred German prisoners passed into the pay of Charles; and fresh succours in men, ships, and arms, arrived from Spain and Tuscany. The commencement of his reign seemed daily more happy, and the festivities within the city were renewed. When Montemar arrived, he went to the palace, where Charles, as was customary, was seated at table in public. The king, with a radiant countenance, bade the conqueror welcome, and Montemar bowed respectfully in reply. Charles then asked him in Spanish (which he always spoke when at a loss what to say), "What news do you bring, Montemar?" "That your enemies have been obliged to yield before your arms; that all, killed or prisoners, do honour to your victory; that your troops fought with equal valour, but that the Walloons were most envied." Those around, who had been surprised at the unmeaning question of the king, admired the noble answer of the Count. The following day, Charles bestowed upon him rewards, honours, the title of duke,

and the permanent command of Castel Nuovo. He afterwards caused a solid pyramid to be erected on the field of Bitonto, on which was inscribed the success of the battle, under what king it had been fought, by whose arms achieved, and the name of the commander ; a monument, if we may credit history, rather to pride than merit.

All the castles of the kingdom yielded in succession to the Spanish arms ; and the small German garrisons passed into the service of Charles. The island of Lipari, menaced by Spanish ships, gladly accepted the new government. The large fortresses of Pescara, Capua, and Gaeta, alone continued to hold out ; but on the 29th July, Pescara capitulated. The fortifications, although constructed according to the rules of modern science, were defective in lines and reliefs, as well as wanting in outworks ; yet, such as they were, they stood a long siege, nor did General Torres lower the imperial standard until a breach had been opened wide enough to allow him and his garrison to pass out,—an honour which he obtained in reward for valour, a virtue admired by all, but especially by enemies in war. Nothing else worthy of note occurred during this siege.

Almost at the same time, on the 6th August, the fortress of Gaeta surrendered. According to ancient tradition, the first walls of this city were built by the Trojans, and Æneas gave it the name of his nurse, who was buried there. It increased so rapidly in population and wealth, that it could not be contained within the original walls, and was therefore enclosed by a wider circuit. Alphonso of Arragon erected a castle, and Charles v. remarking the strength of the place, and the size of the harbour, which afforded a secure shelter for ships of commerce and war, caused the city to be surrounded with fortified walls ; and in succeeding times every new king wished to add fresh works and his name ; so that, in 1734, when it was besieged by the Spaniards, it was little less in circumference than it is now. It is situated on a promontory at the extremity of an isthmus in the Tyrrhenean Sea. The promontory slopes on three sides into the sea, and on the land side descends by a steep and abrupt declivity, which, widening into a plain between the two shores of the isthmus, at last forms the valleys which lie between the mountains of Castellona and d'Itri. On the

summit of this promontory is a very ancient tower, called the Tower of Orlando. The walls of the fortress follow the inclination of the ground, and are therefore built in zigzags or steps, until they touch the further shores on either side, forming bastions, curtains, and salient and re-entering angles, so as to be capable of defence at every point. Modern science has been employed there, but with a deviation from ordinary rules, which were inadmissible, owing to the impediments presented by the nature of the ground. Though these works are imperfect, they are not to be despised, as they require considerable skill either to defend or attack. On the land side, a second wall encloses the first, and is protected by two moats, two covered ways, and several places of arms. It is vulnerable in two points only : in the so-called citadel (the Castle of Alphonso), and in the Bastion of the Breach, thus named from its disasters. The outer wall (at least as much of it as remains) is cut in the hard calcareous rock.

At the time when the blockade of the fortress was changed into a siege, it contained a thousand Germans and five hundred Neapolitans of the battalion raised by the Duke di Monteleone ; there were scarcely any artillerymen, and the Neapolitans, therefore, from their noted dexterity, were trained to manage the cannon : there was abundance of arms, artillery, ammunition, and provisions. On the other side, the Duke di Liria directed the attack with sixteen thousand Spaniards, provided plentifully with arms and matériel. The trenches for the siege were, therefore, in a short time opened, and the besiegers, approaching the wall by covered ways, raised several batteries of cannon and mortars, by which to make a breach in the citadel, and silence the fire of the cannon from the fortress. The approaches were in progress, when the Duke Montemar arrived to hasten the termination of the siege, and enjoy the fruits of victory ; and a little later he was followed by King Charles, induced by the same motives, and ambitious of military fame. After his arrival the firing became more brisk, and a breach began to appear, the shells carrying destruction and terror into the city. The Count of Tattenbach, the governor of the fortress, in a council of his officers, proposed to surrender, but was opposed by his subordinates : the commander of a fortress is in a miserable and humiliating position when any of the

besieged are more unwilling than himself to demand terms of accommodation. But dissentient opinions and discord, added to the tottering state of the defences, at length induced the necessity of yielding to the enemy, and surrendering the fortress entire. Only a few had been killed on either side, and nothing had been performed worthy of record. The fortress of Capua, though closely blockaded, now alone in the whole kingdom still hoisted the standard of the Emperor. The Germans were commanded by Count Traun, the Spaniards by Count Marsillac; the generals were personal friends; they had been both companions in arms, and foes in other wars; one had been prisoner to the other; they had been buffeted by fortune in various ways, but had always secretly maintained their friendship.

The present good fortune of Charles was increased by the victories of the French and Sardinians in Lombardy, and by the rare constancy of the European powers in their league against Austria. The German army in Italy was almost totally destroyed by the battle of Parma; Prince Eugene, with his small force, was not sufficient to confront the powerful armies of Berwick and d'Asfeld on the Rhine; England and Holland maintained their neutrality. The Germanic body rendered little assistance to the Empire, and could not be relied on, and Russia, although friendly, terminated all her views and the aim of the war itself in Poland. King Charles feeling himself now secure and powerful, while preparing an enterprise against Sicily, turned his attention to the affairs of the kingdom. He received the oath of the *eletti* of the city, confirmed the oaths of the barons by edicts and religious ceremonies, and formed his ministry, council, and court, of those most distinguished by name, birth, or wealth. He appointed the magistrates, graciously received the envoys of the Emperor, who had been sent by the viceroy into the provinces, and despatched thither envoys of his own; men likewise of noble birth and station. He pardoned many delinquencies, and consulted the *Seggi* upon the burdens to be removed. As a king he naturally favoured the nobility; and as no third state had yet arisen, and the people were at that time composed of nobles and plebeians, the favour shown the former proved beneficial to all; for the barons, either from gratitude for the advantages they enjoyed, or because they

were dazzled by the splendour of the palace, or because their ambition was flattered, came to reside in the city, and thus relieved their vassals from their presence, and learned the customs and forms of modern civilisation. But suspicion and violence came to sully the beneficent acts of Charles. A few partisans of the Emperor still remained in the city, men such as are generated under any government, weak, contemptible, desiring the victory of their party, and deceiving their own hopes, more than those of others, by spreading false reports of war and politics. Long mocked by fortune, and diminishing in numbers and audacity, they were growing disheartened by despair and their own insignificance, when the ear of the rulers having become more accessible, and their pride increased by success, several juntas were formed, one in the city, and others in the provinces, called *d'Inconfidenza*, intended to punish by secret trials and arbitrary verdicts all the enemies of the throne; thus designating a small body of unhappy men, and converting disappointed hopes or vain aspirations into enmity and state treason. Among many others, Bernardo Tanucci was judge in the junta of Naples, an office unworthy his station or name; but the first steps of ambition are blindfold.

The Seggi of the city had been invited to meet in council, to propose the abolition of some of the imposts. Grateful to Charles, and ambitious of his favour, they requested him to continue the present taxes, though acknowledging that their burden was already intolerable: and further to accept from his people a million of ducats, which they offered him as a donation. Thus was the national property defrauded, to gratify the passions and interests of a body of men, who but imperfectly represented the whole kingdom; for the king, in order to supply what was needed for the approaching expedition to Sicily, while returning thanks to the council, confirmed the taxes, and accepted the gift. Soon afterwards these same Seggi imposed fresh burdens on the nation. The too frequent repetition of similar acts, either by the senators, or the king's councillors, or the ministers, produced a desire on the part of the people to obtain some effectual means of putting a stop to these proceedings in future.

I am anxious to call the attention of the reader to this fact, that as my work advances, I may prove to him how convulsions in

society always proceed from remote causes, grow up unobserved, and only manifest themselves when they are irretrievable. Should life and strength be granted me for the completion of my design, this history will further prove, that the subsequent opinions, wishes, acts, and revolutions of the Neapolitan people, were the necessary consequences of the changes they underwent at this period.

The enterprise to Sicily was determined on, and the preparations completed. The Marquis Rubbi was the Emperor's viceroy in that island, and as the plan of campaign was the same in both kingdoms,—to fight the enemy behind walls, the Prince of Lobkowitz conducted the defence of the citadel and forts of Messina, the Marquis Orsini of Rome the fortress of Syracuse; and General Carrera that of Tràpani; a small body of Germans garrisoned the castle of Palermo, and the rest of the fortresses of the island. The people, though acknowledging the Emperor, were favourable to Charles, partly from their usual love of novelty, and partly from that ancient and well-founded hatred of the Germans, common to all Italians. The Spanish army of 14,000 men, well supplied with artillery and other matériel, both for the field and for sieges, was ready to move, and a vast number of ships were ordered to cruise along the shores of the island. The Duke Montemar was appointed general-in-chief and viceroy for Charles, and the Count di Marsillac and the Marquis di Grazia Reale, generals under him. They hoped to find the people friendly, and that fortune would prove propitious. The fleet weighed anchor from the ports of Naples and Baja on the 23d of August 1734. When half way across they parted company; Montemar turned his prows towards Palermo, and Marsillac towards Messina. When the fleet of Spain was discovered from Palermo, the viceroy embarked for Malta, the Germans shut themselves up in the castle, and the people, unrestrained by loyalty or their fears, rose in tumult. The peaceable inhabitants ran to arms for the security of the city, while the municipality sent deputies to Montemar, messengers of submission and welcome. Preceded by the edicts of Charles, he landed on the 29th in the Port of Sòlanto, and entered Palermo the following day in triumph. The same happened at Messina, where, as soon as the Spanish ships came in sight, the Prince of Lobkowitz caused two of the castles to be evacuated, in order to



increase the force in the citadel, and in the castle of Gonzaga, which were all he proposed to defend. The city, delivered from the German garrison, yielded itself voluntarily to Spain. The principal fortresses were soon afterwards besieged or blockaded; the other forts yielded to menaces, or made only a feeble resistance; and all the island submitted to the force of arms, or to edicts. Upon the publication of the news of the irreparable losses sustained by the Empire in Naples, Lombardy, and Germany, the Sicilians submitted to a fate which was inevitable, and the dominion of Charles was immediately and universally established.

Whilst the war still continued in Sicily, the fortress of Capua fell. The Spaniards, though threatening an assault, continued the blockade, certain that provisions must soon fail in so numerous a garrison. Count Traun made several sorties into the country, killed many of the enemy, took many prisoners, and destroyed part of the lines of circumvallation; but not being able to obtain food, his condition became daily worse, and his valour, however estimable on the field, was useless behind walls. Therefore, on the 24th November, Capua yielded on honourable conditions. The Spanish commissioner found abundant arms, artillery, and powder in the fortress, but the magazines of provisions exhausted, and the hospitals full. The military reputation of Count Traun was therefore increased by these losses. The garrison, consisting of 5100 soldiers, was conveyed to the ports of the Adriatic, and thence to Trieste; but on leaving the fortress, and on the road, more than 2000 Germans passed over to Charles, for there are no troops in Europe more ready than these to change masters; a proof of servitude at home, and the consequence of raising soldiers by compulsion, and in an arbitrary manner, rather than by conscription or lot.

The Duke Montemar, called to the war of Lombardy, departed from Sicily, leaving in his place the Marquis di Grazia Reale. The citadel of Messina soon afterwards fell; the fort of Gonzaga had already surrendered, as well as the fortresses of Syracuse and Trapani. Nothing remarkable either for skill or valour occurred during these sieges; but two incidents of the siege of Syracuse prove the simplicity of the times. When at its height, the general of the fortress wished for a day's truce to repair his trenches and

refresh his soldiers ; he accordingly sent a message to the Spaniard in these words : " General Orsini, admiring the skill and perfection of the Spaniard in the conduct of sieges, asks his consent that he may inspect his works as a lesson to himself ; and should he grant this request, he further proposes that hostilities be suspended for the few hours in which the general will be absent from the fortress." These words so flattered the pride of the Spaniard, that he forgot prudence, and a truce being agreed upon, Orsini came, saw, and praised his labours. He was afterwards entertained by the hostile general, and, amidst compliments and amusements, protracted his stay until night. The firing recommenced, and continued during the following days, when a shell from the Spanish camp happened to lodge in the room where General Orsini was at dinner ; at the prospect of such imminent death, he made a secret vow to the holy patroness of the city, that if he should escape this danger he would surrender the fortress ; the shell did not explode, and the fortress was surrendered. The war ended at Trapani. As the castles of the Presidii of Tuscany had yielded to the arms of Spain, the conquest of the two kingdoms was completed in the beginning of July 1735. In these wars, many Neapolitans and Sicilians had followed the standard of the Emperor, while others had followed that of Charles, and thus fought as enemies. It is one of the miseries of an enslaved nation to be divided in interests and aim.

Before the war in Sicily had ended, Charles set out for that island, and traversing the Principato Ultra, Puglia, part of the Basilicata and Calabria, distributed with royal munificence the riches of America sent him by his mother. While waiting for the surrender of the citadel of Messina, he spent more than two months and a half travelling through the kingdom, devoting much time to the chase, for which amusement the woods were prepared at a great expense. When hunting one day in the neighbourhood of Rosarno, he was overtaken by a violent storm of rain, and sought refuge in a poor hut, where he found a young woman who had just given birth to an infant ; he desired the child should bear the name of Charles, and promised to stand godfather, presenting the mother with a hundred doubloons of gold, and assigning twenty-five ducats monthly for the maintenance of the child, until, at the age of seven, he should be brought to the palace.

From the shores of Palmi, Charles embarked in a splendid vessel for Messina. Prince Ruffo, who, with baronial pride, had been ambitious of receiving him on his fief in Scilla, disappointed in that hope, prepared for him a new kind of escort. Countless barks, decorated with the signs of rejoicing and peace, went out to meet the king, and, ranged in a semicircle, accompanied him on his way; five of the richest gondolas were filled by the most beautiful women of that city, celebrated for beauty, gaily attired, some pulling lightly at the oars, some guiding the helm, while others sounded instruments of music, and sang in cadences, verses expressive of joy and predicting the universal happiness. These sirens, intended to imitate the ancient fable, did not, however, succeed in captivating Charles, who, though young, was of a sober and austere character. Thus escorted, he reached Messina, where other festivities awaited him.

Two months later, he proceeded to Palermo by sea, as the proposal of a land journey was frustrated by the rugged nature of the country, which was wild and almost uninhabited. After a magnificent entry into the city, Charles, on the last day of May, convoked the three *Bracci* or classes composing the Parliament (the barons, ecclesiastics, and all belonging to the royal domains), as well as such as were distinguished by their noble birth or high office, to meet him in the cathedral. After devoutly performing the sacred ceremonies, he ascended the throne, and in a loud voice (while resting his hand firmly upon the books of the gospel) swore to maintain the rights of the people, those of the Parliament, and the privileges of the city. Having thus fulfilled his obligations as king, he called upon those present to swear obedience and fealty to his government. All took the oath, and the sacred compact between the subjects and their sovereign was thus completed before God and the people. At the conclusion of the ceremony, preparations were made in the same church for the anointing and coronation of Charles to take place three days later. This was performed in the same manner as the coronation of the preceding eighteen kings, who had been crowned in that temple; but in this instance with greater magnificence, and a more ostentatious display of wealth. The crown weighed nineteen ounces (five in gems and fourteen in gold and silver), and cost one million four hundred and

forty thousand ducats. Charles caused a great number of medals to be struck (the gold weighing one ounce, and the silver in half pieces), bearing the motto *Fausto Coronationis Anno*, which the treasurers scattered in handfuls among the people, along the road between the church and the palace. This took place on the 3d June 1735. Four more days were dedicated to public rejoicings, and on the fifth, the king set sail for Naples, in a richly decorated ship followed by numerous vessels, and landed on the 12th, amidst the joyous acclamations of the Neapolitans, and feastings which lasted so long that the people themselves were satiated: after which Charles returned to the cares of state.

## CHAPTER III.

THE REIGN OF CHARLES FROM THE CONQUEST TO THE VICTORY  
OF VELLETRI.

It is impossible to present the reader with a consecutive narrative of the events as they occurred during the reign of Charles in the order of time, cause, and effect, because his laws, sometimes proceeding from his desire for the public welfare, still more frequently dependent on the convenience or will of his parents, or on the example of Spain, sprang from different causes, and therefore wanted unity and stability of purpose. During the whole of this period, everything in the State was ruled by a variety of pragmatic sanctions or decrees, without any connecting link, or any aim beyond that of providing for particular exigencies, and governing with despotic power. I shall therefore be obliged to give a summary of his reforms, in order that, while describing the condition of the subjects and their civil government, it may appear how far they were indebted to the political science and wisdom of their rulers.

As the chief disorders of the State were owing to defects in the codes and tribunals, the first act of Charles should have been the composition of a new code, to rid the Neapolitan jurisprudence of the incumbrance of eleven modes of legislation; but by passing separate laws, he only added a twelfth, better adapted indeed to the circumstances of the people, but as imperfect and incomplete as the former. He dared not destroy established error: feudalism, a feudal nobility, the pretensions of the clergy, and the privileges of the cities, were obstacles which he fenced round by measures for the mitigation or restraint of public wrongs, but which superior wisdom or courage would have removed. The spirit of our age, indeed, in which we are accustomed to behold the subversion of

empires, and prodigies performed in the cause of civil liberty, measuring the past with the magnitude of the present, may call that feeble, which was great in a preceding century ; as posterity, in like manner, when reading our history, and feeling how easy it would be for them to succeed where the efforts of this age prove vain, will accuse us of apathy and timidity, whose political error is rather, having demanded too much and ventured too far.

The civil jurisprudence underwent no change. Alterations were made in the criminal laws, but, dictated for special occasions, and in a spirit of indignation roused by the frequency or barbarity of crimes, a due proportion between the act and its punishment was not preserved, so that an equitable and judicious scale of penalties was wanting. Trials for civil causes were slightly improved, but the discussion was always confused, and it was necessary for the solution of doubtful points to refer to the authority of the Sovereign ; while all the arbitrary acts of the Viceregal Government, the appointments of "*Ministri Aggiunti*"<sup>1</sup> (Judges extraordinary), and "*rimedii legali*"<sup>2</sup> (legal remedies), were continued. The Supreme Council of Italy was abolished ; the "*Collegio Collaterale*" was converted into a Council of State, while the other tribunals remained as before, because the King had promised they should not be changed. The system of trial for criminal offences was in no way improved ; while the inquisitorial system, the *Scrivani*,<sup>3</sup> torture, paid proofs,<sup>4</sup> arbitrary sentences, and the interference of the prince, still continued.

These defects, to which I shall again have occasion to refer, caused the number and atrocity of crimes during the reign of Charles. In the city of Naples alone, the judicial census numbered thirty thousand thieves. Homicides, inroads of *banditti*, and violent acts of robbery, were frequent in the provinces ; and there

<sup>1</sup> *Ministri Aggiunti*. Extra judges appointed by the sovereign.

<sup>2</sup> *Rimedii legali*. Forms or modes of trial ordered by the sovereign.

<sup>3</sup> *Scrivani*. Subordinate officials in the courts of law, formerly employed for the purpose of secret inquiry, and who thereby incurred general odium. *Scrivani* are now

unknown in Naples, and the name itself is nearly forgotten.

<sup>4</sup> *Paid Proofs*. The proofs brought forward in a trial were all paid for by the government which carried on the prosecution. The more the proofs, therefore, the more the government had to pay, and the more severe was the final sentence pronounced on the accused person.

were so many cases of poisoning in the city, that the king instituted a Court of Magistracy called the *Giunta de' Veleni* (Junta of Poisons), to discover and punish the delinquents. This crime was especially prevalent among women, from its being easy to the weak, while the strong are more tempted to deeds of open violence.

While such was the state of the codes of law within the kingdom, Charles, by means of treaties abroad, secured the interests of commerce. He made peace with the Ottoman empire, by the terms of which, and by the reputation of his power, hostilities ceased with the natives of Barbary; and concluded new treaties of commerce and navigation with Sweden, Denmark, and Holland, while renewing the old with Spain, France, and England. He appointed as many consuls as there were openings for our commerce, collecting in one legislative code the regulations for the consulate, or the laws which defined the power and rights of the consuls over Neapolitans, and their obligations and claims in respect to foreign nations. He instituted a tribunal of commerce, composed of eight judges; three of whom were magistrates, three barons well acquainted with commercial matters, and two merchants; with a president, chosen from the first of the nobility. This tribunal reviewed in appeal the sentences of the consuls, decided important commercial questions, and, because its decisions were final, was called Supreme. The laws passed for cases of bankruptcy were so stringent, that they might be called tyrannical, had they not rather been a proof of the monstrous frauds, and the corruption of the mercantile class. Another tribunal, under the name of "*Deputazione di Sanità*" (Sanitary Commission), guarded against contagion, superintended the Lazzaretti, and provided, by as wise laws as the medical science of that time admitted, against all dangers to which the public health might be exposed. Had these legislative enactments, which now exist in a variety of instructions and pragmatic sanctions, been methodically registered in one book, we should have had a full and complete commercial code, and might have boasted of having been, by half a century, in advance of the other states of Europe. Charles also founded a naval college, in which the build of ships was prescribed on an improved plan, a body of pilots was formed, and

artificers and sailors educated. As another source of commerce and industry, he invited the Jews into his dominions, who had been tolerated there in early ages, but, persecuted by an ignorant people, had been finally banished by a decree of Charles v. The edict of Charles of Bourbon was both humane and an example worthy to be followed. He granted them security of person and property, liberty of conscience, commercial freedom, the rights of citizens, and a fixed place of abode in the city ; not as an insult, as in other Christian kingdoms, but to afford them a more commodious and independent habitation. They arrived in great numbers, and with great wealth : this History will hereafter relate their fate and end.

The effect of these laws was immediate ; foreign vessels crowded our ports, and our markets were filled with foreign goods ; but from the errors of our home administration, the Neapolitan flag was not often seen on foreign seas. Our merchandise consisted in the fruits of the soil, which were locked up in the public magazines, and were rotting in cellars ; every wind, every meteor, occasioned the fear of a scarcity in some produce, and hindered the export of corn, oil, and wine, the only articles in which we abound. It therefore became necessary to support our commerce by money, and the government perceiving this necessity, and believing in the fallacies of "the mercantile system,"<sup>1</sup> decided that foreign trade was injurious, and that in order to counteract this evil, they must burden merchandise entering the country with exorbitant duties, which were registered in certain statutes, called the tariffs of the customs. They were ignorant that such taxes are really paid by the consumers ; but they soon found that the price of articles rose, that provisions became dearer, that the value of production diminished, industry declined, and wealth decreased.

In the midst of these cares, Charles, in the year 1738, united himself in marriage with Amalia Walburga, the daughter of Frederic Augustus, King of Poland, a young princess who had not yet completed her fifteenth year, modest, simple, and devout. Re-

<sup>1</sup> *The Mercantile System.* The basis of this system was, that "wealth consisted in the precious metals ; that what is gained in trade by one nation must be lost by an-

other ; and that our great object in receiving returns for our exports should be to get money instead of merchandise.—See Art. *Commerce*, *Encyclopædia Britannica*.



ceived with honours in her passage through Germany, and with respect in the courts of Italy, she reached Portella upon our frontiers, where the king awaited her beneath a magnificent pavilion, and in the midst of a splendour which was new to her. They were alike happy in each other's youth, in a prosperous kingdom, in their piety, in the sacred tie which united them, and in the innocent enjoyment of the pleasures with which they were surrounded. Filled with awe and delight, the princess knelt before the king, who hastened to raise and embrace her, calling her his wife and his queen. They reached the city on the 22d June, but deferred the ceremony of their entrance until the 2d July. That day Charles founded the Order of St. Januarius, which has for its insignia the Cross, the points terminating in lilies, and in the centre the image of the saint in his episcopal robes, with the Gospel, the instruments of his martyrdom, and the motto, *In sanguine fœdus*. The Cross is suspended by a red ribbon. The king is the grand-master, and there are sixty knights, chosen for noble descent or high station. The statutes of the order are as follows:—To maintain their faith in the Christian Catholic religion; to preserve inviolate their fidelity to the king; to hear mass every day; to communicate on the day of their inauguration, as well as on the festival of the saint; to cause a solemn mass to be celebrated upon the death of a knight, recite the service for the dead, and take the communion; to frequent the chapel of the saint, and neither send nor accept a challenge for a duel; to which, at a later period, Benedict xiv. added a full absolution for every knight, and a perpetual remission of sins on the days in which the saint performed his miracle, namely, three times in every year; plenary indulgences upon visiting three churches or altars; and some dispensation from the discipline of fasting: statutes and concessions more worthy a congregation of monks than an order of knighthood.

The king, who was pious both in thought and deed, at this time favoured the Church, as much from his natural inclinations as from motives of policy; his ecclesiastical reforms, therefore, are more to his honour, and more surprising than any of his other works: for it was no disbelieving king, nor one whose conscience was untroubled by scruples, who humbled the pontifical pride; but the Infant Don Charles, who, in the church of Bari, attired in the

canonical robes, officiated among the canons in the choir, and who, clothed in humble sackcloth, washed the feet of the poor in the Church de' Pellegrini; who performed masses to obtain indulgences; who every year composed and modelled, with his own hands, the group of figures and the cottage which represented the nativity of Christ, and who believed in the sanctity of two living men, the Jesuit Father Pepe, and a Dominican, Father Rocco, cunning and ambitious friars.

I have already related how Pope Clement XII. temporized between the Spaniards and the Germans, and as long as fortune was undecided, was prepared to support her favourite. In the year 1735, on the solemn day of St. Peter, Charles, who was already secure in the possession of the Two Sicilies (all the fortresses having been taken, the standard of the emperor torn down, and his own coronation prepared in the metropolitan city of Palermo), sent the Duke Sforza Cesarini, ambassador to the pontiff, with the offering of the "Chinea,"<sup>1</sup> and a sum of seven thousand ducats in gold, the tribute of the kings of Naples. That same day, the Prince of Santa Croce, the ambassador of the emperor, presented a similar offering to the Pope. These rival pledges of submission were only stratagems on the part of both monarchs, each desirous thereby to obtain his suffrage, as a proof of their right to the disputed kingdom; but the war in Italy still raged, and the result was doubtful. The offering of the Infant was new, that of the emperor habitual. The first could not be received without a manifestation in favour of the donor, while silence was all that was required by the latter: his tribute was therefore accepted, which was an offence to Charles.

Shortly afterwards, a tumult broke out in Rome against the Spanish and Neapolitan officers, who had been sent thither to raise men for the army, and who, having incurred the public displeasure, were threatened, attacked, beaten, and forced to hide from the infuriated populace. The riot spread to Velletri, where other recruiting officers and soldiers from Naples were quartered. The excitement at length reached such a height in both cities, that in Rome five of the gates were closed, and the rest protected by doubling the city guard; while in Velletri the town was fortified,

<sup>1</sup> A white horse presented as an act of homage by the kings of Naples to the Popes.

the streets barricaded, the city guard armed, and placed under the command of sixteen officers, and everything prepared for conflict. As soon as Charles was informed of what had happened, he recalled his ambassadors from Rome, and dismissed the Pope's legate from Naples. The Spanish ambassador left Rome, and the nuncio, who had shortly before departed for Spain, was informed that he would not be received within that kingdom; he therefore remained at Bayonne. All appearances were warlike. Meantime, the soldiers who had been driven from Velletri returned, and having assaulted and gained possession of the feebly guarded city, killed several of the inhabitants, threw a larger number into prison, disarmed the rest, and imposed a tribute of forty thousand scudi. They next proceeded to Ostia, ransacked the shops there, and set fire to the huts of the wretched salt manufacturers; then suddenly falling upon Palestrina, only consented to abstain from sacking the town on receiving a sum of sixteen thousand scudi. They would have proceeded to worse excesses, had not Charles, less from a desire to put a stop to this license, than from a determination to commence hostilities against Rome on a larger scale, ordered his troops to abandon the Papal territory, and bring with them the prisoners and arms taken at Velletri.

The Pope appealed to the sovereigns of France and Austria; but the first returned evasive answers, while the latter, after reminding him of his want of faith towards the Empire, offered, nevertheless, to send a large army to the defence of the Apostolic See. Clement refused the offer, and condescending to humiliate himself to the act of supplication, softened the rage of Charles; the prisoners taken at Velletri, and three Trasteverine Romans, the leaders of the riot (who had been sent to Naples at the request of the Government), after a long imprisonment and a public acknowledgment of repentance, were pardoned and set at liberty, but their arms retained. The wrath of the king was rather smothered than extinguished.

The Minister Tanucci, and several Neapolitans of equal eminence, now considered the hour propitious to revive the claims of the State and of the king. The Abate Genovesi,<sup>1</sup> who, although ex-

<sup>1</sup> *Abate Genovesi*, one of the most distinguished philosophers of Italy, born near

Salerno in the kingdom of Naples 1712, died 1769.

tremely young, was already distinguished for learning and genius, after having published a statement of the amount of wealth consumed by individuals forming the Church, who were by their vows devoted to poverty, proposed reforms which were at once favourable to religion, just, and generous; other reforms were likewise suggested, and even the city sent up petitions to the king, entreating him to impose the common taxes upon property and persons appertaining to the Church, and to convert the gold and silver, which was superfluous in the worship of our holy and humble religion, into money. Moved by such prayers and arguments, Charles sent Monsignor Galliani, a man of high character, and with enlarged views for the times, as his ambassador to Rome, who laid the demands and pretensions of the king before the pontiff, viz.: To be empowered to nominate candidates for the bishoprics and benefices of his kingdom; and, together with the potentates of Christendom, to have the right of one vote in the conclave; to reduce the number of convents of monks and nuns; to impose some restriction upon the acquisition, and to grant some franchises to the possessors of property in mortmain; to put an end to the jurisdiction of the nuncios, and to abolish the Court of Nunciature.

The Pope, perplexed and annoyed at these demands, convoked a college of cardinals, who rejected them all, as contrary to the ancient rights of the Holy See. The ambassador was not however to be silenced; but increasing in his pretensions, demanded the fulfilment of the decree of Honorius II. in favour of Roger, by right of Charles as successor of Roger, and Clement as successor of Honorius. He reminded the Pope of other concessions made by former pontiffs to former kings of the Sicilies. The eloquence of Galliani was meanwhile seconded by the power of the Bourbons, by the fortune of Charles, by the weakness and age of Clement, and by his anxiety to advance the interests of his nephew Corsini, who was at the Court of Naples, eager to be appointed viceroy of Sicily, and perhaps cherishing still higher hopes. For these considerations, Clement promised King Charles the investiture of the conquered kingdoms, and granted the cardinal's hat to Don Louis, the Infant of Spain. The wrath of the two kings was appeased. Monsignor Gonzaga, the nuncio, who had been detained at Bayonne, was ac-

cepted, and proceeded to Madrid ; and the 16th May of that year, 1738, was named for the investiture of Charles.

On the day fixed, Cardinal Troiano Acquaviva, the ambassador of the king, accompanied by a suite composed of the feudal lords of Naples and Spain, went to the Quirinal, where the pontiff in high state, surrounded by cardinals, archbishops, and bishops, conformably with ancient usage, caused the Bull of Investiture to be read, by which he proclaimed the king, Charles VII., he being the seventh king of Naples of that name. But whether from motives of policy, or from caprice, Charles refused to adopt the cipher, and continued to designate himself in his edicts and treaties as before his investiture. As soon as these disputes with the pontiff had been amicably settled, Monsignor Simonetti, who had retired to Nola, returned as nuncio into the city ; the ambassadors from Vienna remonstrated with the pontiff upon what had taken place, who, however, wisely refused to lend an ear to their complaints, as he saw fortune inclining towards the other side ; and, desirous of diverting the king from the claims he had made through Galliani, which endangered the power as well as the wealth of the papacy, he granted as a gift to Charles, the Bull of the Crusade,<sup>1</sup> by which the obligation of fasting could be commuted for money.

The mutual compliments which had passed during the conference, having been in time forgotten, Charles, while declaring that former treaties and ancient usages were no longer expedient for his subjects, proposed a new concordat to the Pope, which Clement was about to concede, when he died in 1739, and was succeeded in the pontificate by Cardinal Lambertini, Benedict XIV. The affair was therefore suspended, until at last, after repeated demands on the part of Charles, the Pope named as his legate Cardinal Gonzaga, and the king, Cardinal Acquaviva, with Monsignor Galliani, archbishop of Thessalonica, as before ; they met on the 2d June 1741, and concluded the terms of the concordat, which was soon afterwards ratified by both princes, and became law and rule of state and conscience. Between baronial rights and the

<sup>1</sup> *Bull of the Crusade.* First granted to assist warriors to re-conquer the Holy Land ; next to free Christian captives from the Saracens, and lastly for the sale of in-

dulgences which, granted by the Pope to the King of Naples, became a fertile source of revenue.

immunities of the Church, everything in the kingdom of Naples was thrown into disorder. How Charles disposed of the first I shall relate in its proper place, as the second was the principal motive for the concordat. Three kinds of immunity had been hitherto tolerated; royal, local, and personal. The royal immunities consisted in the exemption of the Church from contributing its share to the common taxes; other properties which were by their nature secular, were confounded with the ecclesiastical, and many privileges and favours were enjoyed by the lands and houses of the servants and persons attached to the Church; so that the wealth, cupidity, number, and audacity of the clergy, both secular and regular, caused the impoverished and declining state of the finances, which were only supported by a part of the land and by a minority of the citizens. As long as the war lasted, the support of the barons, or more frequently the gifts of the Queen of Spain, besides forced subsidies and similar expedients, concealed the poverty of the exchequer; but no sooner had the doubts and anxieties of the war of conquest ceased, than the State languished, and even the burdens imposed under the viceregal government could not suffice for its maintenance; the less so, as to other expenses were now added that of a numerous and splendid court, and the increased number of wants caused by the progress of civilisation.

The local immunities consisted in the right of asylum. Every church, every chapel, the convents, their vegetable and flower gardens, the houses, shops, and bakers' ovens, which had a wall in common with or were adjoining to the church, and the houses of the priests, all furnished an asylum to criminals; so that, among so many places for shelter, upon the commission of a crime, an asylum was sure to be at hand, protected by the bishops or clergy, and by the furious zeal of the mob, who defended these mockeries, as if they had formed a part of religion. An equal injury was done to justice by personal immunities; for added to the excessive number of the clergy themselves, were the armed retainers of the bishops, the lowest characters employed in the ecclesiastical tribunals, tithe collectors, the servants of the priests, those inhabiting the same houses, and even, at one time, their concubines.

The court of Rome, in consideration of its friendship for Charles, and thinking it prudent to keep on good terms with a neighbouring and prosperous monarch, agreed to a modification of all these immunities. The ancient possessions of the Church from that time forth were to be subject to taxation to the amount of one-half paid by the laity, and all later acquisitions were to pay the whole. The census of the state was to separate the lay property, which had been either intentionally or by mistake confounded with the patrimony of the clergy. The number of franchises was reduced, and the permanent exemptions granted to privileged persons, revoked. The right of asylum was limited to the churches, and even then only in the case of slight and trivial offences. The ecclesiastical state having been defined, and personal immunities reduced, the right of episcopal jurisdiction was circumscribed, the secular jurisdiction proportionably extended, and in order to limit the number of priests, the difficulties of ordination, and the discipline of the clergy were increased. A tribunal was formed, called *Misto* (mixed), because composed of both ecclesiastical and lay judges, to decide those disputes which might arise from the Concordat.

The hopes of the philosophers and liberals were partly fulfilled, partly disappointed. In the terms of the treaty, or even in the conferences, no allusion had been made to the right of investiture, the "China," the donatives, the benefices upon the ecclesiastical patrimony, the bishoprics to be reduced, the number of priests and friars to be diminished; the abolition of asylums, as well as of ecclesiastical tribunals and immunities; or, in short, to any of the greatest interests of the monarchy. The Neapolitan negotiators did not want courage, but had no hope of success. The people, and King Charles himself, the very individuals who would have profited by complete emancipation, ignorant or superstitious, did not even desire such a change.

The Concordat gave an impulse and beginning to greater reforms; the Government, while interpreting, extending, and sometimes exceeding the terms agreed to, organized the lay jurisdiction, limited the ordination of priests to ten in every thousand souls, refused to allow the Papal Bulls to take effect when not accepted by the king; forbade new acquisitions to the Church, and proclaimed episcopal censures powerless, if incurred by the subjects

in obedience to the laws, or to the command of the prince. All, or nearly all disputes were decided in favour of the laity, and every act of license on the part of the clergy was punished. Two friars, high in the order to which they belonged, opposed the judge of the place where they resided, in a case of asylum. Charles having caused the fugitives to be taken forcibly from the church, turned both friars ignominiously out of the province. A pious family of the Abruzzi, in fulfilment of a vow, built a church to the patron saint of the city; but as a law of Charles forbade the foundation of new churches without the royal permission, he commanded that this should either be applied to secular purposes or pulled down; the religious zeal of this family not allowing the alteration of the design of the edifice, it was demolished as a public example. He refused to grant a license for the foundation of new colleges for the Jesuits, and, to punish the persistency and pride of the order, he prohibited them new acquisitions by law, while reminding them of their vow of poverty. Similar measures were constantly introduced, and therefore it must be said to the honour of Charles, that in his relations with the Church, he first by treaties or laws removed the impediments to civil freedom, and afterwards passed acts which smoothed the way to further progress.

In order that full advantage might be derived from those terms of the Concordat which related to the royal immunities, it was necessary to ascertain precisely what were the possessions of the Church, and likewise those of the fiefs, of communities, of secular institutions for charitable purposes, or of public endowments. The science of statistics, now so exact, was then unknown, but something of the kind (which necessarily arises, although imperfect, in the commencement of every commonwealth) suggests itself to rulers as soon as they cease to aim at governing despotically or by secret and arbitrary means, and rule justly, and with a conscientious desire for the good of the people. Such was the spirit in which King Charles and his minister Tanucci governed. Ignorant as they were of political science and principles, the good effects of their government were the result of a wise instinct and philanthropy, while the evil may be attributed to the errors of the times, and their limited means of information. Charles was ignorant, Tanucci little less so; but though neither of them was capable



of anticipating political claims, they introduced improvements into established institutions, bestowed benefits, and made new regulations everywhere: were such kings or ministers now at the head of affairs, they would render the nations of Europe virtuous and happy.

The whole science of administration was at that time supposed to be comprehended in the census; they, therefore, organized the system, and included many subjects which belong to general statistics. Depending solely on voluntary returns, the Government was deceived by the fraudulent, while the simple and honest revealed the whole truth. The sincerity shown by the highest and lowest orders in the State, was as surprising as the contradictions and falsehoods of the lawyers, clergy, and barons. The rapid progress of the work was impeded by the privileges of some cities, which were maintained by the edicts of Philip v. and Charles himself, by the feudal lands subject to their own laws, and by such of the immunities of the Church as had been recognised in the Concordat; but the resolution and perseverance of the Government enabled the census to be completed, and, however imperfect, it tripled the public revenue, relieved some of the most wretched of the citizens of a part of their burdens, exposed many past frauds, and prevented their repetition in future. The advantages would have been still greater had Tanucci or Charles understood the principles of finance; but they maintained the capitation tax, thus taxing life itself. Every exchange of property was alike burdened with imposts, and many incomes, when derived from a double source, had to pay a double tax into the exchequer; many others escaped all taxation; and, while the artisan and tradesman were taxed, those following the professions called noble, the physician, the advocate, and judge, contrived by cunning and intrigue to obtain exemption. Again the *arrendamenti* (a kind of indirect tax) interfered with private industry; for example, that of tobacco, by preventing the free cultivation of the plant, and thus destroying one of the best products of our soil for a small financial gain. But it is not surprising if the finances in 1740 were ill regulated, when even in our days, in the most civilized states of Europe, they are nowhere, in all respects, conducted in strict accordance with scientific rules, nor for the

general advantage. In the meantime, the concordat, the census, the wisdom of Charles, and the parsimony of Tanucci, produced contentment in the people, and filled the exchequer, so that there remained a surplus beyond what was required to supply the wants of the country, and enough for the erection of magnificent monuments.

But, as if it were ordained that the prosperity of a kingdom should be only shortlived or interrupted, a fresh war broke out, and brought with it new perils and greater demands on the public purse. As early as the year 1737, Gian Gastone, Grand Duke of Tuscany, the last of the House of Medici, had died, and with him ended that degenerate race. Philip v. and Charles king of Naples called themselves heirs to the throne of Tuscany,—an empty title, which was not disputed by rival sovereigns; but three years later, in 1740, upon the death of the Emperor Charles vi., the slumbering ambition of Philip v. for the States of Milan, Parma, and Piacenza, was once again awakened. His consort Elizabeth, insatiable in her thirst for empire, and eager to bestow a throne upon her second son, Don Philip, used her influence still further to excite the king. Philip was crafty, cruel, superstitious, and indolent; in his government, he was fickle, timid, and suspicious; but eager to carry on war by the agency of others. Therefore, to join the league of the enemies of Maria Theresa Queen of Hungary, and daughter of the deceased Emperor Charles vi., to prepare armies and send them into Italy, to command his son the King of Naples to despatch as large a reinforcement as he could spare from his dominions to join the Spanish troops, to equip and send forth a numerous fleet, to issue edicts, and raise the cry of war in Italy and Europe, were projects conceived in a day, and speedily executed.

Twelve thousand Neapolitans, under the Duke di Castropignano, were sent to Pesaro to join the Spanish armies under the Duke di Montemar, who assumed the supreme command, while a disorderly army of Germans and Savoyards assembled in Lombardy, and, led by the Count di Lobkowitz, advanced to meet the enemy. Their forces were equal, but fortune undecided; the Germans, however, advanced boldly to the attack, while the Spaniards paused at Castelfranco; and as the Duke of Modena<sup>1</sup> had inclined to the

<sup>1</sup> Francis iii. of Este, Duke of Modena, married, 1737, the daughter of Philip Duke the patron of Muratori and Tiraboschi, of Orleans. Died 1780.

side of Spain, Lobkowitz took possession of his chief city, occupied Reggio, seized on Mirandola, and reduced Sesto and Monte Alfonso, so that little remained of the duchy. Meantime, Montemar, timid and slow, offered no assistance to his unfortunate ally, but, almost in the presence of the enemy, and able to count his blows, he continued a passive spectator of his devastations. Finally, he began to retreat before Lobkowitz.

At that time an English fleet, commanded by Commodore Martin, entered the Bay of Naples, and omitting the customary salutations in a friendly port, sent a messenger on shore, who addressed one of Charles's ministers in these words:—"Great Britain, the confederate of Austria, and the enemy of Spain, proposes neutrality in the wars of Italy to the government of the Sicilies. If the king accede to this proposition, let him recall the Neapolitan troops in the army of Montemar; if he refuse, he must prepare for instant war; for, at the first signal, the fleet now cruising in the bay will bombard the city. The king will be permitted two hours to make his choice;" and, in order to mark the exact time, the ambassador drew out his watch and named the hour.

The city was destitute of the means of defence; there were neither entrenchments nor a garrison. The port, the docks, and the palace were unfortified and unguarded, and the people terrified. There was neither time for action nor thought; the court was unmilitary, the ministers timid, and the council hastily summoned by the king in consternation; the offer of neutrality was therefore accepted, and by despatches, which the insolent herald insisted on reading, the Duke di Castropignano was commanded to return with the army into the kingdom. Other letters were secretly written to Montemar to apprise him of the unhappy events in Naples, and despatches and ambassadors sent with the information to the courts of France and Spain, and to the Infant Don Philip, who was fighting in Lombardy, against the armies of Savoy and Germany. The day on which the neutrality was agreed upon, the English fleet disappeared; Charles, though late, provided for the defence of the city, fortified the port, formed entrenchments and batteries around the bay, and supplied them with cannon and soldiers. Reflecting on the insult he had sustained, and aware that the ambition of all the princes of Europe

centred in Italy, that the result of the war was doubtful, promises vacillating, and the oath of no king to be trusted, Charles hoped to secure his crown and the tranquillity of his kingdom by applying his private wealth, and the increased revenue of the exchequer, to the purchase of arms, and by enlisting the affections and interests of the people in his cause. He ordered many ships to be repaired and more built; he established manufactories of cannon, muskets, and instruments of war; he raised a new army by conscription in the provinces, confiding the highest posts to native officers, and collected arms and ammunition. Thus prepared, and while watching the events in Italy, he ruled the State with moderation and justice. The Duke di Montemar, his army diminished by the loss of the Neapolitan auxiliaries, became still more cautious in his movements, and hastened his retreat, upon which his sovereign, taxing him with the disasters of the campaign, recalled him and kept him in disgrace, at a distance of twenty leagues from the palace and city. The Count di Gages, an officer of higher reputation and greater daring, was sent as general to the Spaniards; he infused fresh courage into his soldiers, and led them to meet the enemy. They were engaged in several encounters, in which he was sometimes victorious, sometimes defeated; but, finally, was obliged, from his inferiority of numbers, to withdraw his troops into the Neapolitan territory, behind the Tronto. The successful Lobkowitz encamped on the opposite bank, and menaced the foe by a display of his forces, as well as by the edicts of his queen.

Reasoning like an ambitious woman, Maria Theresa felt secure of the conquest of the kingdom, because the king was new, his small army unaccustomed to war, and the Neapolitans inclined for change; whilst, on her side, she had a great and victorious army, a successful captain, and numerous emissaries distributed among the people. The sanguine expectations of the queen and of the woman were encouraged by her ambassadors at the Court of Rome, and by a band of Neapolitans, who were voluntary exiles, or had been banished under the government of Charles,—poor, and, as was natural under their circumstances, sanguine and ready to promise ample succours and conspiracies to be raised in her favour; these men, prompted by the desire to return, and by the

hope of vengeance, instigated the queen to make war against their native land. Maria Theresa, Queen of Hungary and Empress of the Romans, addressed the people of the Sicilies by an edict, in which she promised to relieve them from the burdens of taxation, to confirm their ancient privileges, to confer others, to banish the avaricious and hated race of the Hebrews, to throw open the prisons, to grant pardon, and bestow premiums and rewards on virtue, to increase the *annona*,<sup>1</sup> and to lower the price of food ; she concluded by vaunting the attachment of the people to the imperial house, and by holding out temptations to the ambition of the great, and to the inconstancy of the lower orders, and pretended to have secret connexions in the country, hoping thus to encourage her own adherents, and to rouse the suspicions of the Government.

As soon as the king was informed of these transactions, he summoned a congress to meet in his palace, and reminded them of the natural alliance with Spain, as well as of the neutrality agreed upon with England ; that his own desires and the condition of the country inclined him to peace, but that the present necessity urged him towards war ; of the danger of moving the army, and the danger of inaction ; of the impoverished state of the exchequer, but the certain evil of having to maintain two foreign armies, and to see the provinces laid waste for encampments and battles ; of the loyalty of the people, but the inconstancy of human nature and of fortune ; and after enumerating these and other facts, and weighing them one against the other, he asked their advice. Unanimity of votes is rarely met with in a numerous assembly, and still more rarely is a cowardly or base sentiment without its advocate or supporter. War was less fatal than peace ; to remain inactive, waiting the turn of events, was certain subjection either to Spain or to the Empire ; yet the congress hesitated from some far-fetched religious scruple respecting the observance of the neutrality ; and the good King Charles, either from a love of peace, or trusting to time and fortune, was wasting the days in irresolution and uncertainty, when letters arrived from his parents, Philip and Elizabeth, reproaching him with his hesitation and delay, enumerating the dangers before him, setting up as an example the intrepid conduct of the Infant Philip in the obstinate wars

<sup>1</sup> *Annona*, public storehouses.

in Lombardy, and, while reminding him of the great actions performed by his house, inciting him to take up arms and enter the field.

The doubts of Charles being thus removed, he refused to listen any longer to the timid counsels of the Duke Montallegre, a worthy courtier, who, though possessed of an excellent understanding, and well acquainted with all matters appertaining to civil government, had an aversion for war, for which he had no capacity. He was a good adviser in peaceful times, but the worst when the kingdom was in danger. The king collected his troops, and promulgated an edict to this effect:—"The neutrality promised to England was contrary to the interests of my house, to the affection I owe my family, to the good of my people, and to my duty and dignity as a king; and I only gave my consent in order to avoid for my beloved, and at that time, defenceless city, the bombardment and injuries threatened by an English fleet, which had unexpectedly entered the bay with hostile intentions. But however hard the conditions, and however obtained, I observed them, because the word of a king had been given; I recalled my army fighting upon the banks of the Po, and exposed the armies of my father to danger by the loss of these auxiliaries. The ports were closed to Spanish ships, commerce was impeded, aid refused, and, on the other side, everything conceded to the flag of England. As a reward for so many injuries, and for so much suffering, as a recompense for such fidelity, a powerful German army, supported by English ships, is on the eve of fording the Tronto, under the pretence of pursuing a small body of Spanish troops, but in reality to carry war into the States of Naples, and, if successful, to drive the king from his throne. The neutrality is thus broken, and broken by them; I, supported by the forces of my kingdom, conscious of the rectitude of our cause, and trusting to receive the aid for which I pray to God, will go forth to confound their iniquitous designs."

The king proposed to lead twenty thousand soldiers in person into the Abruzzi; to unite them with those of Spain; and meantime to constitute a regency for the government of the kingdom, and place his young wife and her newly-born infant in Gaeta. When the edicts were published and preparations known, the alarm and grief of the people were extreme, and whilst the multi-

tude stood a melancholy crowd in the square below, five of the Eletti petitioned Charles not to let the royal palace be deserted by all of the name of Bourbon, but to trust the queen and the infant to the care of the people, more faithful guardians than the walls of Gaeta. But while thanking them, Charles refused to alter his determination, declaring that in an unwall'd city, the fear alone of an attack from an enemy, and the very zeal of the guards and the citizens, were dangerous for a woman in the condition of the queen. He placed entire confidence in the fidelity of his people, so much so, that he would that day free all those guilty or unhappy persons who were detained in prison on suspicion, the partisans of the very Germans whom he was going forth to meet in battle. Tyrants, when exposed to danger, imprison even innocent persons; but Charles liberated the guilty. When these magnanimous acts were made known, they excited so much love and zeal in the people, that the nation appeared more like a family than a state. The nobles, after expressing their scorn at the edict of the empress-queen, because she had dared to tempt their fidelity, renewed their oaths to Charles, both in writing and by their deputies; and the representatives of the city, while offering the king three hundred thousand ducats for the expenses of the campaign, promised to supply the armies with as many provisions as they should require, so long as the war might last, while the populace, assembled in groups or in crowds in the streets, shouted auguries of success and honour. Amidst these happy predictions the royal family took their departure—the queen with her infant for Gaeta, the king for the Abruzzi, where he was to join his troops.

Before he could reach the Spanish army, the German general Braun, with a strong detachment of infantry and cavalry, passed the Tronto, and occupied the extreme confines of the Abruzzi, where the hostile armies were daily brought into collision, without coming to any serious engagement, as Braun was waiting for the army of Lobkowitz, and the Count di Gages for that of Charles. About this time occurred a singular feat of arms; a Neapolitan soldier, in a regiment of dragoons in the service of Spain, left alone by his comrades who had fled, fell into the midst of the enemy, consisting of a small body of Hungarian horse; perceiving his disadvantage if he remained on horseback, he dis-

mounted, and drawing his weapon, which was a Scythian sword (according to the rule of his regiment), he fought with so much valour and success, that he killed seven of the enemy, and wounded others, while the rest fled, and he remained victor in the field; he gathered up the spoils of the vanquished, and, bathed in his own blood and that of the enemy, returned to the Spanish camp, where, laying the arms of the seven he had slain at the feet of the Count di Gages, he was highly commended by the troops, and was presented by the Count with two hundred gold pieces, which the brave soldier divided among his comrades, reserving nothing for himself but the glory of the enterprise.

Lobkowitz and Charles advanced towards the Tronto by opposite roads. Upon their arrival each reviewed his troops. Lobkowitz, already distinguished by his actions in Bohemia,<sup>1</sup> was at the head of twenty thousand infantry, and six thousand cavalry; they were followed by hordes of Transylvanians, Illyrians, and Croats, who had left their native forests at the bidding of the queen, and who, in the guise of soldiers, were thieves and ruffians; there were besides other bands, composed of fugitives, deserters, and robbers, who, fighting in independent corps as light troops, were called Free Companies; the army was completed by two thousand Hungarian cavalry, volunteers and bold spirits, who spread themselves over the country as marauders, infesting the roads, seizing on food, arms, and men, and exploring the ground for the camps and marches. The German army therefore was at least thirty-five thousand strong, but fame, or the prudence of the leaders exaggerated their numbers and strength. Charles assumed the supreme command of both Spaniards and Neapolitans. The first was composed of eleven regiments of infantry, three squadrons of cavalry, five hundred light horse, and three hundred mounted guards of the Duke of Modena, who, a fugitive from his own dominions, and faithful to the cause of Spain, had taken service under the Count di Gages. These guards were principally Hungarians, who had most of them deserted to the Spanish service, and who, therefore, either from their misfortunes or misconduct, were reduced to the desperate alternative of victory or death. The Spanish army, of twenty thousand soldiers, was completed by a

<sup>1</sup> Against the French *Maréchal de Belle Isle*.



regiment of Catalan infantry, lightly armed and clothed, fit for ambuscade, quick in their movements, and who despised death and the enemy. The Count di Gages, an old soldier, though weary of war, led these troops. The Neapolitans numbered twenty-two regiments of infantry, five squadrons of cavalry (in all nineteen thousand soldiers), under the conduct of the Duke di Castropignano; five of these regiments were new; all the remainder trained to war either in Italy under Montemar and the Infant Philip, or in the sieges of the fortresses of the Two Sicilies, or in Africa, at Oran, where they had been engaged with the ferocious Moorish tribes.

Both sides were well supplied with artillery. That of Charles was placed under the direction of Count Gazola from Piacenza, distinguished for his mathematical learning and talents; and while a large English fleet obeyed Lobkowitz, the king had his own navy at his disposal. The Bourbon army was really the most numerous, though the Germans were reported to be superior; these last were encamped in two lines along the left bank of the Tronto, and had sent forward, as I have before stated, a handful of bold cavalry and infantry, led by General Braun, and scattered in various directions in advance of their lines, upon the right bank of the river. Here the Spanish troops were stationed in the first line, and the Neapolitans in reserve in the second. The king had taken up his quarters at Castel di Sangro. The winter season was on the decline. Lobkowitz waited in expectation of disturbances within the kingdom, and Charles hoped for such advantages as might ensue from time, scarcity of provisions, sickness, and discord in the enemy's camp. The armies remained, therefore, as in a time of repose.

But Lobkowitz, urged on by the persuasions of Count Thun, the imperial ambassador in Rome (a bishop full of warlike ardour, and at the head of the unhappy conspiracies in the kingdom), and forced to act by the commands of his queen, put an end to the delay, and prepared for attack. The entrance by the Abruzzi was difficult, because the roads were broken up, the mountains covered with snow, the country poor, and the army had to march in the face of the enemy. Preferring the roads by Ceperano and Valmontone, memorable in past conquests of Naples, he recalled Braun, and abandoning the region of the Tronto, started in the direction

of Rome. Charles was informed of this movement beforehand by letters from Cardinal Acquaviva, his legate at the Apostolic See; crafty and liberal in his bribes, the cardinal had learned the designs of the imperialists through a man attached to the household of Count Thun, who betrayed the secrets of his master. As soon as the German army had departed, that of the king began to move, the first leaving by various roads through Umbria, and the second by Celano and Venafro. The aspect of war was changed, for the Germans appeared to be retreating, which inspired their opponents with so much courage, that, in their exultation, they tumultuously called upon Charles to lead them to battle. The armies proceeding according to the intention of their generals, Count Lobkowitz made an ostentatious and almost triumphant entry into Rome, where he was received by the Pope and the people, as the successful party in Italy, and as already the invincible conqueror of the neighbouring kingdoms of the Two Sicilies: for the grand and ferocious aspect of his German followers, their barbarous dress, and their harsh language, appeared the signs and promise of victory. But their leader was not so confident of success, and proceeding slowly and with caution, allowed Charles to reach the frontiers, who conducted his troops into the Papal territory, refusing to listen to the pusillanimous warnings of conscience, and to the demands and entreaties of the pontiff. Some skirmishing took place between the bands of Hungarians and the Bourbon troops, who were severally engaged in exploring the country, but they seldom came to actual fighting.

The king, with a great part of his army, was upon the road of Valmontone, when he learned from his videttes the approach of the enemy. His troops were not yet disposed in order of battle; his artillery had not arrived; the roads were heavy from recent rain, and the ground impracticable; but the necessity of the movement made all things possible, and a sufficient front being prepared to keep the Germans at bay, a messenger was sent to hasten forward the remaining troops and the artillery. Just then, a violent storm arose, obliging part of them to halt, and Charles immediately changing his order of march, brought the rest back in disorder to Velletri; satisfied with pitching his camp in a strong position, he left the determination of his further move-

ments on the following day, to be regulated according to circumstances and to the situation of the Germans. Early next morning he sent his scouts round, collected his troops in good order, and having learnt the approach of the enemy, prepared himself and his men for combat. The first German arms appeared above the crest of the hills, and others succeeded, until the whole host was spread out in line ; but Lobkowitz, from his elevated position, surveying the numbers of the enemy, and noting the rugged nature of the ground, considered that his cavalry, which formed the main force of his army, could not operate among these valleys, and felt his courage fail ; he therefore placed his men in camp, fortifying his position by artillery, breastworks, and entrenchments. The king followed his example. The ground which, shortly before, had been destined for a battle-field, was now covered with encampments ; the war was carried on with as much deliberation as before ; Lobkowitz again trusting to disturbances in the kingdom, and Charles to the effects of time.

The city of Velletri is situated at the summit of a hill, from which the ground descends in steep declivities, where the olive and vine are cultivated. A little torrent rushes along the three ravines which form the valley ; and the banks which run towards the north and west, rising always more abruptly by successive rocks and hills, terminate in Monte Artemisio, four miles or more distant from Velletri. The right wing of the camp of Charles rested on this mountain, his left inclined towards the Porta Romana, the central gate of the city ; the front of the camp was guarded rather than fortified ; a little behind, upon the hill of the Cappuccini, a park of artillery was planted, and several squadrons were encamped there, to be used as adjuncts or supports for the first front. These were succeeded by smaller encampments, either as guards over some particular spot, or as forming a convenient station for the soldiers ; and the disposition of the troops was such as to enable the whole army to get under arms upon a given signal, on the shortest possible notice. A fountain, which usually played in the principal square, and was both an ornament to the town and a luxury to the inhabitants, had ceased, as the enemy had destroyed the canals, and turned off the stream. The camp was therefore ill supplied with water, which could only be obtained, after toil and a

conflict with the enemy, from a small well, excavated in the bottom of the valley, at three miles' distance from the city. But provisions abounded, as Charles was amply supplied by the affection of his subjects.

The enemy, encamped on the opposite side, overlooked the army of the king, and were able to reckon his forces and means of defence, while they themselves were concealed by the undulating nature of the ground they occupied. They had plenty of water, but there was a scarcity of provisions, although supplied from Rome and other cities. Lobkowitz could not avail himself of his superior position, because, to attack the enemy, he must have carried his troops into the valleys below, which were commanded by greater numbers than his own. Advancing, therefore, as in a siege, he harassed them by a close fire of musketry and cannon; and having driven a Spanish regiment from an eminence on which it was encamped, at five hundred paces from the city, he fortified the spot by entrenchments, and placed a guard there. Continual and sudden attacks by day and night allowed our soldiers no rest. Lobkowitz hoped that the king, seeing his men thus pressed, and obliged to suffer attacks which they were unable to return, would raise his camp, and he anticipated with exultation all the disasters which the enemy would suffer while in retreat, with a triumphant army close upon their rear.

Charles was likewise aware of these dangers, and hastily assembled a council, when the Count di Gages proposed a manœuvre, which he executed as boldly as it was conceived. He marched silently at night, with four thousand soldiers, and by deserted paths, so as to reach Monte Artemisio at dawn. It was guarded by a thousand men; but either from wine, drowsiness, or the negligence naturally arising from a long state of security, they were reposing without their arms, when they were suddenly discovered and overpowered by the enemy. The commander was taken in his tent, and another superior officer, who was awake and on the alert, resisted, but was overcome by numbers; rendered powerless from his wounds, he was captured, and soon afterwards died; only a few escaped in the confusion to acquaint Lobkowitz with their disaster. The whole German camp rose in arms, but already more troops in the camp of Charles were on the move;

and Gages, descending from Monte Artemisio, gained possession of Monte Spino, took more prisoners, and seized on the artillery and provisions. Such terror and confusion prevailed in the imperial camp, where there was as much want of wisdom in the leaders as there was insubordination in the men, that they fled, by whole companies, helter skelter towards Rome. As soon as the tidings of the panic reached Rome, the gates were closed, as it was fully believed that both armies, the conquered and the conqueror, were close at hand.

As the sole object the Count di Gages had in view was to gain Artemisio, which he had now taken and fortified, he left it under the protection of a strong garrison, and returned, satisfied and elated with the success of his enterprise, proud of his prisoners, and rich with booty. In that age, more was effected by military genius than science; projects on a large scale were rare in the leaders of armies, except with those few, privileged by nature, to whom knowledge is instinct. If Gages had lived in these days, by only obeying ordinary rules, he must have caused the first squadron to succeed the second, which had been held as a reserve in case of defeat, or a reinforcement in success: at a concerted signal, Charles's whole army would have attacked the German camp in front, Gages would have descended from the hills, and, assaulting the enemy's posts in the rear, would have put them to flight, and driven them back, one upon the other, and have thus ended the war. But as the course of victory was arrested half-way, Lobkowitz had leisure to check the panic, to stop the fugitives, to recover Monte Spino, and to re-form his troops. By having lost Monte Artemisio, all the positions of the Germans leaned towards the right wing of the camp, which movement occasioned an affair of greater importance.

Both armies having returned to their usual state of inaction, the Germans began to sicken from the foreign climate, to mutiny for want of pay, and, owing to the rabble of which the army was composed, to desert in vast numbers, so that their forces sensibly diminished. Count Lobkowitz was mortified by the disaster of Artemisio, by the injury his reputation had sustained with his own soldiers and throughout Italy, and by his boasts having been put to shame by recent events. But just at this time he received assur-

ances from Bishop Thun, that the kingdom was ripe for rebellion, and only waited the support of a small military force ; while the empress, from Vienna, sent him haughty and imperious commands to advance. Lobkowitz therefore wrote to the English admiral to threaten Gaeta, to cruise along the shores, and excite the people to revolt ; while he himself used the unjustifiable means of despatching a small but daring body of troops into the Abruzzi, to spread the report of victory, to encourage the rebels, to devastate the land, and to massacre all who remained faithful to Charles. He hoped that as soon as the king should hear of these movements in the kingdom, he would hasten thither with a large part of his army, and thus weaken the camp at Velletri ; but these hopes were frustrated by the attachment of Charles's subjects, which continued unabated, and even increased.

Lobkowitz made another attempt. The left wing of the camp of Charles was weak, for owing to the distance from the enemy, and never having been disturbed by any attack or alarm during this campaign, the guards were almost as negligent as in a time of peace, and although the imperialists had approached that quarter after the battle of Artemisio, the posts were not strengthened nor their vigilance awakened. A report arose, as often happens in war, of which neither the author nor origin could be traced, that the Germans meant to surprise the left wing of the camp ; but it was not believed. Lobkowitz meantime, on the 8th August 1744, summoned the principal and the boldest of his officers to meet him in council, and addressed them thus :—"It is vain to hope for disturbances in the kingdom of Charles, or for discouragement, desertion, or a scarcity in his camp. We have before us a strong and successful army, while the numbers of our soldiers are diminishing by death, sickness, and flight. Delay is against us. Nothing remains, but either a successful assault or a disgraceful return into Lombardy. Certain of your choice, I lay my scheme before you. The enemy leaves his left wing exposed ; the ground, weak by nature, is not fortified by art, only a few are left to guard it, and these having been long undisturbed, lie down at night, careless, and in a state of intoxication. There are several roads over the declivity, beside the valley which lead to this point, and I have an equal number of guides in readiness, not bribed to assist

us, but friendly to our cause. There is an easy ingress by an old ruined wall, which once passed, we have a road open conducting to the city, to the encampments, and to the quarters of the king. A column of our best troops shall follow the guides in silence by night, and entering through the ruined wall, shall stab the guards in their sleep, and, noiselessly proceeding to the city, kill the soldiers and citizens. When the sentinels and fugitives have wakened the enemy's host, our men shall rush on, uttering loud cries, burning, destroying, and striking terror on all sides, without allowing time for reflection to those attacked. A more select band shall enter the house occupied by the king, and take him prisoner; the rest shall go into the camps and the open country, killing and pursuing the enemy. Larger bodies of our troops shall meantime attack the right of the enemy's lines, and the remnant hold themselves ready in case of need, or to assist at the victory. If the enterprise should succeed, we shall in one night end the labours of the war; if it fail, we shall return to our entrenchments; and shall the following day be as we are now, prepared for action or council. I have revolved this well, eager for revenge from the day of our defeat at Artemisio, and I now lay it before you to decide."

All signified their approbation; some, because they were brave men, and others wishing to appear so. Each had his part assigned him. Generals Novati and Braun were chosen to attack the left of the camp, with six thousand soldiers; General Lobkowitz to attack the right with nine thousand; the senior general in the camp was ordered to keep the remaining troops under arms and prepared, and the signals and passwords were settled. The night of the 10th and 11th August arrived, in which the fate of the kingdom was to be decided, and Novati and Lobkowitz departed with their columns ready for immediate action; the punishment of death was threatened to any who should shout, speak, or make any clatter with his arms; the rest of the army was on the watch. Novati reached his destination, entered the camp of Velletri, killed and overpowered all he met, and proceeded unobserved. An Irish regiment in the service of Spain, encamped a little in the rear of the main body, was surprised, and in part cut off; but those who remained alive, woke up and defended themselves; the noise of the fight, and the fugitives, gave warning to

the camps, and the Germans then hearing the drums and trumpets of the enemy sounding to arms, proclaimed their presence by loud shouts, and in obedience to orders, broke open, burned, and destroyed one of the gates (that called the Neapolitan), and rushed out of the city. The first dawn of day hardly illuminated the sky.

Charles, who was sleeping in the Casa Ginetti, was awakened by his guards, and hastily throwing on his clothes, and girding his sword, passed through the gardens of the house, and escaped to the camp at the Cappuccini. The Duke of Modena, the ambassador of France, and the Count Mariani (on horseback as he rose from a sickbed), with the Duke of Atri, fled from their burning houses without waiting to dress. All was confusion during that first hour. The inhabitants, with tears, entreated the conquerors for pity, but were barbarously murdered and plundered. Many of our soldiers fired at the enemy from the windows and roofs, others assembled in the squares of the city, and fought hand to hand; others opened themselves a way by their weapons; but many particulars of the combat, and many a disaster or instance of courage, are left unrecorded. Niccolo Sanseverino, brother of the Prince of Bisignano, was among the first slain in fight; Colonel Macdonald, distinguished in former wars, tall in person, and mounted on horseback, halted in the centre of the large square of the city, and raising his arm and sword, called to the soldiers who were flying in all directions, to unite and follow him. While he was yet speaking, a ball from a German musket put an end to his life, his command, and example. Many of the superior officers and captains died bravely; and finally, the city, wholly deserted by us, fell into the hands of the enemy.

Lobkowitz, apprised by signals and by the noise of battle, of the successful assault made by Novati, had attacked and gained possession of Monte Artemisio; proceeding to the second and third encampment, he next put them to flight, for fortune favoured the Germans. But Charles, hastily collecting his soldiers at Monte Cappuccini, passed them in review, and addressed each file in these words: "Remember your duty to your king and your wonted valour, and that if you are true to honour and duty, we shall yet conquer." He sent the Count di Gages against Lobkowitz; placed



the Duke di Castropignano in opposition to Novati, and held the rest of the troops in reserve. Gages being superior in numbers to the enemy, kept him in fight upon the mountains; Castropignano advanced towards Velletri, but did not encounter the German columns as he expected, because, tempted by avarice and license, they were dispersed throughout the city. The courage of the Bourbonist army revived; the legion Campana, which had been just raised by conscription and was under the command of Gages, was among the most eager to seek vengeance and glory; Castropignano, who was slowly advancing, was urged on by the king, who supplied him with fresh forces, and who that day merited all the praise due to a skilful and brave captain. Our columns conquered as they proceeded; the ground of Artemisio was recovered, and Castropignano entered the city. The consternation we had just before experienced was now felt by the enemy, who in their turn were thrown into disorder; fortune had changed sides, and the conquered became the conquerors. Among the Germans, the Duke Andreassi, who commanded a strong and numerous squadron, was seriously wounded; General Novati was taken prisoner whilst seizing papers and money in the quarters of the Duke of Modena; 2000 Germans were killed; General Braun, who was with the reserve outside the city, seeing the discomfiture, and having learnt from the fugitives the capture of Novati, and the slaughter and total defeat of his comrades, did not await the enemy, but took shelter behind his former entrenchments. Lobkowitz likewise, abandoning his soldiers, banners, and artillery, returned to the camp, and if the uncertainty of the roads, or want of decision had not slackened the march of the Count di Gages, and if the conquerors had entered the valley with the fugitives, but little of Lobkowitz's army would have been left, and his hopes of success during the remainder of the war would have been annihilated.

The enemy was already drawn up behind his works, and many of his regiments had not yet been engaged, while all the soldiers of Charles were exhausted, both with defence and attack, with the storm of the morning, the suspense of the day, and even with the fatigues of victory. The hour of nine had just struck, and they had been fighting since daybreak; although each army had re-

turned to the camp they had quitted, the Bourbonists had really conquered. The king, however, ordered a retreat to be sounded, and commanded the troops of the first front to resume their former position, while he computed the amount of injuries sustained, and advantages gained; 3000 of the Bourbonist soldiers, and nearly as many of the Germans, had been killed or wounded, and the loss in standards and artillery on either side was equal, but the victory was assigned to Charles. Upon the ensuing day, therefore, he returned thanks to the army, commending the valour of the Spaniards, which he pronounced equal to their ancestors', and of the Neapolitans who had rivalled those experienced in war. He distributed honours and money among them; and applying to his subjects for fresh soldiers, horses, clothing, and money, he obtained even more than he asked. He recalled the Duke di Lavello with his troops from the Abruzzi, as the Germans had been already driven from that province; and was informed that more Spanish regiments had landed at the port of Gaeta, which, favoured by wind and fortune, had passed the English fleet unperceived, and had arrived in a few days from Barcelona. Meanwhile, having been taught a lesson by past dangers, Charles fortified the defences of the left wing as well as every other part of his camp, so that after the battle, he gained in the strength of his army, as well as in reputation.

The strength, courage, and fame of Lobkowitz suffered proportionably; after his last unhappy attempt, his officers became insubordinate, as is usual in times of adversity; the distress increased in his army, the horses died, the men were sick or mutinous, the autumn season was approaching, and the disastrous and alternating fortunes of the war in Lombardy caused all hope of succour to disappear; yet he did not venture to retreat, lest he should seem to be impelled by fear, and waited for unprecedented favours from time and chance. However, in the first night of November, after having assumed an appearance of permanent occupation during the day, and that very night lighted fires, stationed sentinels and patrols, and given the password, Lobkowitz rapidly drew off his army in silence and good order in the direction of the Tiber, which he crossed by two bridges, that of the Milvio and another hastily constructed of boats. The next morning the king, perceiving the

enemy had fled, pursued him, but fear being always swifter than hope, the Bourbonists only reached the river when the Germans were already on the opposite bank, and were breaking down the bridges with so much zeal and skill, that the work of destruction was completed under the eyes of the hostile army. Lobkowitz continued his retreat. Charles halted at Rome to do homage to the Pontiff, and to behold the greatness of the holy city; here he divided his army into two divisions; one under Gages, intended to harass the Germans, the other to return with him into the kingdom. The Romans testified their approbation of Charles by honours more justly his due than those with which they had before greeted Lobkowitz.

The king having left Rome, met his beloved queen upon the confines of his kingdom, and remained one day at Gaeta; after which they entered Naples, where the unaffected joy and mutual affection between the king and his subjects glowed in their hearts and was exhibited in their countenances. The former was conscious of having well fulfilled his part as a military leader and king, while the people felt that they had performed their duties as citizens and subjects; in which sentiment, unknown alike to slaves and tyrants, resides the happiness of empire, and makes even obedience less irksome. On this occasion all display of festivities was forbidden by the king, as the spectacle of the happiness of a whole kingdom, saved less by the power of its armies than by the attachment of its people, was festival enough.

## CHAPTER IV.

## CONTINUATION AND END OF THE REIGN OF CHARLES.

AFTER the affair of Velletri, and the conclusion of the war in Lombardy, the house of Bourbon appeared to Charles and to the world secure in the kingdom of the Sicilies. The king, returning to the cares of peace, wished to indulge his natural taste for grandeur in the construction of public monuments; he had commenced, and even finished several, amidst the uncertainties of fortune, and the embarrassments of the exchequer; he added others in his days of prosperity, and had more still in contemplation, when he was called to the throne of Spain. The most remarkable were the Mole, the Strada Marinella, the Strada Mergellina, and, between the two, the building called the Immacolata. The whole length of that shore, often broken in upon by the sea, and which had been occupied by a dirty, unhealthy, and miserable population, was transformed into a beautiful road and promenade, the delight of the inhabitants, and an ornament to the city.

The king and queen, when on their way to Castellamare in a gondola, and when returning by land, were attracted by a passing view of the charming country in the vicinity of Portici, and Charles having learned that the air was salubrious, that there was plenty of game twice in the year (quails abounding in that locality), and that the sea in the neighbourhood was full of fish, commanded a villa to be built there. Upon one of the courtiers reminding him that that part of the country lay too near Vesuvius, he replied, "God, the Immaculate Virgin, and St. Januarius, will protect us." The architect, Canovari, made and executed the design.

Almost at the same time the king planned the erection of another villa upon a height near the city called Capo-di-Monte, for no other reason than because he heard that the small birds called

*beccafichi*<sup>1</sup> abound in that place during the month of August. Many of the works of this monarch owed their origin to his inordinate passion for the chase ; had his object been nobler, such as the promotion of the arts, the protection of the frontiers, or commerce, these enormous expenses would have been more worthy of a good prince, and have been more thankfully acquiesced in by the people. The architect, Medrano, designed the palace of Capo-di-Monte ; but when half finished, it was discovered that the edifice rested upon extensive grottos, which had been excavated in former times to quarry tufo and other stones, and consequently immense subterraneous works were necessary to prevent the building falling. The money which was thus buried was three times the sum expended upon that above ground. The king became tired of the affair ; there was no carriage-road leading to the place, the idea of opening one was neglected, and the palace itself left incomplete. Viewed from the city, it appeared an ancient monument, as the half-finished works looked like a ruin ; but the time arrived when this incomplete edifice pleased the fancy of other kings.

Charles wished for a new theatre, as the city was only provided with few, and those of a low description. To add wonder to magnificence, he ordered that it should be the largest in Europe, and built in the shortest possible time. The design was again obtained from Medrano, and the care of its execution confided to one Angelo Carasale, a man of low origin, who had risen to fame by his genius in architecture, and by his bold and stupendous works. He selected the site near the palace, pulled down a great many houses, and added a vast extent of ground, so that when the back of the stage was laid open, wonderful representations of battles, chariots, and horses might be seen in the distance. He commenced his work in March, and finished it in October 1737, and on the 4th November, the name-day of Charles, the first scenic representation was given. The interior of the theatre was covered with glass mirrors, and the reflection of a multitude of candles produced such a flood of light as to realize the fable of Olympus. A vast and richly decorated compartment was assigned for the royal family, and as Charles entered the theatre, astonished at so

<sup>1</sup> *Beccafichi*, fig-peckers.

great and beautiful a work, he applauded the architect, while the people gave the king the honour as the originator of all this splendour.

In the midst of the universal delight, Charles sent for Carasale, and, publicly commending him for his work, he leaned his hand upon his shoulder as a sign of his protection and favour. Carasale, though not a modest man, respectfully thanked the king by word and action. When this was ended, Charles remarked that as the wall of the theatre adjoined that of the palace, it would have been more convenient for the royal family to have passed from one building to the other by a private passage; the architect cast down his eyes, and the king, adding "We will think about it," dismissed him. When the representation was over, he found Carasale waiting for him, with a request that he would return to the palace by the passage he had commanded. In three hours' time Carasale had succeeded, by pulling down great walls, erecting scaffolding of beams and lathes, and concealing the rudeness of the work by carpets and tapestry, and with the assistance of drapery, mirrors, and lights, to make a passage both beautiful and scenic in its effect; this sight was almost more like enchantment and more splendid than the first presented to the king.

The theatre, which had received the name of San Carlos, the genius and good fortune of Carasale, were, for many days, the topic of discourse in the palace and the city. But the envied architect was now summoned to give in his accounts, and not satisfying the auditors, was threatened with imprisonment. He went to court, and had an interview with the king, when he reminded him of his royal favours, of the applause of the people, of the beauty of his work, appealed to his poverty as a proof of his honesty, and left the palace happy, as he thought he perceived some trace of pity in the countenance of the king; but he was mistaken; for the inquiries of the tribunal were renewed, and soon afterwards Carasale, conveyed to the fortress of Sant' Elmo, was shut up in prison, where he was supported during the first months by the hard earnings of his family, and had afterwards to eat the bitter bread of captivity. He continued several years in prison, where he died; his sons were forgotten in obscurity and poverty, and nothing would now remain of the name of

Carasale, if the excellence and the wonders of his work had not preserved the memory of the unhappy artificer.

Charles ordered the construction of several roads and a fine bridge across the Volturno near Venafrò, which works, although only intended to indulge his passion for the chase, and therefore called *Strada di Caccia*, were nevertheless of some benefit to the surrounding villages and towns. Meanwhile, the roads which would have been most useful to the kingdom were wanting. To pass through Calabria (even on horseback) was difficult and dangerous, and the Abruzzi little less so. The *Strada di Puglia*, which had been finished as far as Bovino, a royal hunting seat, was not continued through the three other provinces; there were neither provincial nor municipal roads, which was as much owing to the absence of royal highways as to frauds and errors in the interior administrations. All that was beautiful, great, and magnificent in the works of Charles were confined to the neighbourhood of the metropolis.

He improved the buildings of the *regii studii*,<sup>1</sup> and raised from its foundations (after the designs of the architect Fuga) the royal house of refuge for the destitute, which was opened for the reception of all the poor in the kingdom. Charles did not see this work completed, but already thousands of the poor of both sexes were collecting within its walls; youths who had fallen into vice or misery, and vagrants, who were employed in many useful and newly-invented arts. In succeeding books I will describe how the discipline of the place was improved, and how the building was completed, but the first and greatest merit was due to Charles.

Desirous of emulating the splendour of his ancestors, in the palaces of Versailles and of San Ildefonso, and to build a magnificent palace on a more secure foundation than that near Vesuvius, and less exposed to the attacks of a powerful enemy at sea, he chose for this purpose the plain of Caserta, at fourteen miles' distance from the city. An ancient town of the same name, Casa-Erta, founded by the Lombards, was still in existence on a neighbouring mountain, where, amidst vast ruins were a few buildings containing a scanty population, who preferred the rubbish which remained of their ancient homes, to the convenience and grandeur of the new

<sup>1</sup> *Regii Studii*. Museo Borbonico.

city. As the most eminent architects were dead or had grown old, Carasale in a dungeon, and no other in the kingdom equal to them in invention, Charles sent to Rome for Luigi Vanvitelli, a Neapolitan, who was distinguished by his other works, and the first architect in Italy. The palace was founded upon an area of 415,939 square Paris feet, at an elevation of 106 feet ; magnificent columns, massive arches, colossal statues, and marble carvings, adorned the face of the edifice, while on the summit of the front tympanum was seen the equestrian statue of Charles in bronze.

The interior of this palace contains precious marbles, statues, and pictures by the most celebrated sculptors and painters of that age ; inlaid woods, works in stucco, crystals, frescoes, and pavements of marble and mosaic, besides rare stones ; so that, in short, this building alone represents the genius of all the arts of the time. It is surrounded on three sides by squares or enclosures, and facing the fourth, stretches an extensive garden, nobly adorned with obelisks, statues, marble steps, and copious fountains ornamented with figures ; a stream falling suddenly from a height, and then more gradually until it spreads out into a lake, from whence it is dispersed in rivulets, is seen descending from the opposite hill, which is laid out as an English garden, and combines a truly regal splendour in art, with the advantages of a mild climate, a fruitful soil, and a perpetual spring.

The water thus collected, is brought from Monte Taburno, by an aqueduct twenty-seven miles long, crossing the mountains Tifatine and three wide valleys, and flowing in canals cut in the rocks, or carried over high and massive bridges. That over the valley of Maddaloni, 1618 feet long, and supported upon piers thirty-two feet in thickness, is built in three tiers of arches, rising to an elevation of 178 feet ; and if the inscription on the stones, and the memory of man did not tell a different tale, this work, from its grandeur and bold conception, might be attributed to the Roman period. The waters of Caserta, after irrigating the land, and embellishing the gardens and the palace, flow under ground, until they join the waters of Carmignano, and reach Naples, where they afford a copious supply for that large city.

Among the most successful of Charles's labours, were the excavations made at Herculaneum and Pompeii. As I am about to describe



cities destroyed by the neighbouring volcano, I will first mention the two greatest eruptions which took place during this reign, and the magnanimous aid afforded the sufferers by the king. The first eruption occurred in the year 1738 ; the disasters it occasioned were produced by the quantity of ashes cast forth from the mountain, which rose to the clouds in the form of a pine-tree ; borne along by the wind, they fell in distant villages, and between the rain and their own properties were converted into solid masses of stone, and thus changed vast tracts of fertile country into a desert. The cities which were most injured were the Due Torri, Sarno, Palma, Ottaiano, Nola, Avellino, and Ariano. The second eruption, in the year 1750, was more terrific, owing to earthquakes and other destructive phenomena, when towns, villages, and rich and cultivated lands were covered with lava. The king, in both instances, remitted or diminished the tributes upon the lands which had been injured, and assisted and sent presents to the sufferers. At the time of the eruption of 1738, the dispute between the king and the Pope concerning the right of jurisdiction, being still in agitation, the friars and priests whispered in the ears of the people, that this scourge was sent by God, to the ministers of Charles, that they might desist from troubling the Church and the clergy ; but when the volcano ceased their fears vanished, and the contests with the Pope continued.

The origin of Herculaneum is fabulous, that of Pompeii obscure ; both were flourishing cities of the Campania in the reign of Titus Vespasian, when, by a tremendous eruption (described by the younger Pliny), Herculaneum was covered with lava,<sup>1</sup> and Pompeii overwhelmed in ashes and stones vomited by the mountain, and afterwards buried under the materials carried down by the waters in torrents. The manner of their destruction, therefore, was different, but both cities were in one day involved in a common ruin. The memory of the place passed away with the generation then living, and the site of these superb buildings was sought in

<sup>1</sup> " It is a mistake to suppose, as has been stated by many writers, that [Herculaneum] was overwhelmed by a stream of lava. The substance with which it is covered is only a kind of volcanic tuff formed of accumulated sand and ashes,

but partially consolidated by the agency of water, which is often poured out in large quantities during volcanic eruptions." —EDWARD H. BUNBURY, M.A. See Article "Herculaneum," Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*.

vain. Thus, from the year 79 in the Christian era, until 1738, the city of Herculaneum remained unknown, and that of Pompeii until 1750.

The discovery was accidental ; it happened that in digging wells or ditches, some highly-finished and sculptured marbles were extracted, and soon afterwards were discovered subterranean vaults, then called caverns, but subsequently found to be forums, temples, and theatres, which led to the suspicion that the buried cities lay in these localities. The king claimed the ruins as public property ; and, causing excavations to be made, drew forth such treasures in antiquities, that the Museo Borbonico is now one of the first in Europe. Among the rarities of Herculaneum are the rolled papyri, in which were inscribed the learning of Greece, carbonized by the volcano ; but science has discovered the means by which these volumes can be unrolled and laid flat, so as to enable any part of the writing to be read. Only a small portion of this first city was disinterred, as it was covered by massive basalt,<sup>1</sup> and by the beautiful city of Resina, which living city must have been destroyed, to bring that to light which was already dead. Pompeii, covered with vegetable earths and stones, was extensively excavated, and precious articles of antiquity were extracted. Charles, who was often present at the work, once discovered a globe of an oval form (begrimed with gravel and ashes), hard as stone and heavier than the substance of which it appeared to be composed. He himself laboured several days to open it, and drew forth coins of various metals, and at last, almost in the centre of the globe, a gold ring ornamented with masks, which, to reward himself for his perseverance, he placed upon his own finger. It does not lie within the province of this history to enter into a description of the wonders of these two cities ; but it may be seen by other writers how much they have contributed to the improvement of the arts, and to the knowledge of the ancients.

The antiquities were arranged in several rooms of the new palace at Portici, and at the same time a Herculaneum academy was instituted to illustrate them by philosophy and history. Other academies arose during the reign of this king. The university "*degli studii*" was improved, by lectures on useful subjects being

<sup>1</sup> See note, preceding page.

added to the quantity of forensic and theological matter with which the teaching there was encumbered. The colleges obtained several advantages ; but the seminaries continued under the same discipline as before, because the bishops rejected all secular authority, and hated any reform in that which was old. But in spite of what Charles did to promote science or literature, education was not general. Eminent men, however, sprung up in the midst of the popular ignorance.

I must not omit to mention other measures by Charles which, whether deserving of praise or censure, ought not to be passed over in silence : he threatened and inflicted severe punishments on all who infringed the statutes for the royal chase ; he introduced lotteries into his kingdom, an invention of avarice and despotism ; he used means to confine the plague within certain quarters in Messina, and finally to extirpate it ; he was the first to license public gambling, with cards or dice, for a profit to the exchequer of forty thousand ducats annually, but afterwards abolished the practice. At the instigation of the courts of France and Rome, he censured and proscribed the Society of the Freemasons ; but none of his subjects underwent punishment, because a wise and just government is sufficient in itself to interdict, prevent, dissolve, and throw discredit upon secret societies. The Jews were banished, —that very sect who, seven years before, had come to Naples upon the invitation of Charles, and trusting to his promises : but the Neapolitan people could with difficulty be persuaded to tolerate them ; the Jesuit Father Pepe encouraged the prejudice arising from popular ignorance, and petitioned the king, to whom he had free access, to drive the descendants of those who had crucified Christ from his Christian kingdom ; and another friar, of the order of St. Francis, revered by the queen for his sanctity, having told her, in the assured tone of a prophet, that she would never have a male heir as long as the Hebrew race remained in the kingdom, they were expelled. The degraded condition of this nation is dignified by the struggles and constancy with which they have maintained their faith, a virtue acknowledged by all mankind ; while the intolerance of the Christian has no apology ; it has not even the semblance of a virtue ; it is a remnant and sign of ancient barbarism, and is the more contemptible in us, because we pre-

sume to call ourselves the most civilized nation upon earth. The populace of Naples rejoiced in the banishment of the Jews.

The same populace, some months before, had risen in revolt, because they suspected that the detested tribunal of the Inquisition was to be secretly introduced among them. The power of the Pope had been revived by the varying fortunes and dubious result of the wars in Italy, and from the eagerness of contending sovereigns to obtain his friendship. In one year he canonized five saints, founded a new monastic order, *i cherici scalzi* (the barefooted friars), and invited Cardinal Spinelli, archbishop of Naples, to introduce the tribunal of the Holy Office unobserved into the kingdom. This pontiff was Benedict xiv., one of the most highly esteemed among the popes. The archbishop appointed councillors and notaries, ordered the seal which was to be used on trials, prepared dungeons, and incarcerated several persons for matters of faith, forcing two of them to pass through the ceremony of abjuration. Emboldened by the success of these first steps, by the silence of the people, by the approbation of the pontiff, and by the noted piety of Charles, he caused the words *Santo Uffizio* (holy office) to be inscribed upon a stone, and inserted it over the entrance of his dwelling.

The abhorrence in which the Neapolitans hold this name, is well known by our history, which records the civil wars it has occasioned, the embassies that were sent to distant kings, and the exemption we obtained or bargained for, although at the cost of submission and tribute; and, wonderful to say, a credulous, superstitious, ignorant people rose in rebellion at the bare suspicion of the Inquisition, refused to recognise it, and even menaced the authority of the king, and besieged and conquered a troop of soldiers in their own quarters. These were not the acts of the lowest of the populace, impelled, as they are wont, by blind fury or by a love of turbulence, nor of the upper classes alone, actuated by superior intelligence and a desire for freedom, but of every class and condition—the luxurious dwellers in the city, and the simple inhabitants of the country, all unanimous and resolved, as if moved by one common instinct; and now the very people who demanded the banishment of the Hebrew race, who admitted and even endowed the new order of the *cherici scalzi*, and paid a high price to purchase the bones and relics of five new saints, when they saw the inscrip-

tion over the archbishop's palace, first murmured, then became excited, threatened the two cardinals with death, and would have broken out into worse excesses, had not the king (informed by the Eletto of the people of the real cause of the disturbance, and reminded of ancient and recent laws, compacts, and oaths which were thus violated), issued an edict, censuring the proceeding of the archbishop, and ordered the inscription to be taken down, and broken to pieces: abolished secrecy in the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and restored it to its primary condition, of public trial under the laws. Cardinal Landi, who was sent by the Pope to petition the king to mitigate the severity of his edict, could obtain nothing, and, threatened by the people, hastened his return. The Archbishop Spinelli was obliged, from the public odium, to resign his episcopal seat and quit the city. The edict of Charles was inscribed in marble, and solemnly inserted in the wall of San Lorenzo, the Town Hall, and the people who witnessed the ceremony, satisfied and triumphant, presented the king, amidst shouts and acclamations, with thirty thousand ducats.

The war meantime continued in Lombardy; from the time of the conclusion of the affair at Velletri, a considerable force from Naples accompanied the Spanish army. The contending parties met with alternate success and defeat during the whole of 1745, but the following year proved adverse to the Bourbons, who, surrounded and driven back, retreated towards Genoa, a rich and friendly city. The Magra, swollen by violent rains, retarded the formation of a bridge, and when completed, destroyed and carried it away. The enemy was advancing, and the Bourbonists hemmed in between them and the river, redoubled their efforts in the emergency, and succeeded in fastening another bridge, which they were passing in haste, when the Germans arrived, and intercepted and massacred the last files. Our soldiers at length, while still defending themselves, reached the opposite bank, and the hopes and desires of the two armies being then reversed, the Spaniards wished to break down the bridge, the Germans to preserve it, in order to cross to the other side. In the midst of the fight, and when the chances seemed equal, a Neapolitan sergeant, of gigantic stature and strength, with four of his men, advanced boldly upon the bridge, and in the face of the enemy, and while exposed to their fire,

broke it down with hatchets ; but as they performed their work hastily, and the bridge gave way sooner than they expected, the five remained on the side nearest the enemy, and their capture or death appeared certain. The sergeant, throwing his tool and weapons across to his friends, plunged into the river ; the remaining four followed his example, and all, swimming to their own camp, returned unscathed and covered with glory. The soldiers received a large reward, and their leader was promoted by Charles to the rank of captain. When Horatio, a soldier of the Republic, displayed similar valour, his name was handed down to posterity ; but that of our generous champion has been omitted by the modern historiographers of monarchy.

The retreat of the Bourbonists continuing with the successes of their adversaries, Genoa, abandoned by the former, was taken possession of by the latter, and a still worse fate was impending over her, when the desperate courage of her citizens changed the aspect of the wars in Italy. I regret that it is not my task to relate the wonderful feats performed by the Genoese people against the disciplined troops of Germany, for it seldom falls to the share of the historians of Italy to tell of the triumph of the oppressed over their tyrants ; the usual theme of their sad story being the misery of the conquered, and the success of the oppressors. But it was not thus with the city of Genoa in the year 1746, when, after all manner of insults and indignities had been endured, and the ferocity, avarice, and arrogance of the Germans was still unsatiated, it happened that by a trivial cause, a stone thrown by the hand of a child, first the rabble, next the people, and lastly the senate, rose to vengeance and battle ; they fought with so much ardour and success, that they drove General Botta (who unhappily was an Italian), with many thousand Germans from the city, vanquished and in consternation. Genoa closed her gates, and her citizens armed themselves ; the resources possessed by a rich and strongly fortified city were wanting to the Germans ; they were alarmed by the numbers of their enemies, and changed the plan of their campaign. France, Spain, and the King of Naples sent ambassadors, soldiers, and money to the heroic city, whose inhabitants organized numerous bodies of troops for their own defence, and the assistance of their allies. Everything augured well for the Bourbons in the ensuing year.

But the unexpected death of Philip v., and the intentions of his successor, Ferdinand vi., being yet unknown, kept all minds and preparations in suspense. The new king of Spain, however, although desirous of peace, declared that he would continue the undertaking commenced by his father, sent fresh troops into Italy, confirmed the war, and wrote letters full of affection to Charles. The queen, his stepmother, losing nothing either in wealth or dignity, resigned her power, and retired into private life in a castle at some distance from the palace.

The war continued with alternate successes for two more years, so that the people had to endure death and many sufferings for seven years, without ever arriving at such an extremity as might lead to a voluntary or obligatory peace. The hostile parties encountered one another in perpetual battles, for at the time of which I write, the science we now call strategy was unknown; by which an army is enabled to move, while avoiding the attacks and observations of the enemy, to reach a certain point, determined on for military reasons, and to subdue fortresses or cities without a conflict, and preserve their own bases or lines, or occupy the lines or bases of the enemy. If the great captains of past ages, and the contemporaneous Prince Eugene of Savoy, happened to act in accordance with scientific rules, it was owing to native genius, and not to knowledge. Frederick II. of Prussia was the first to extend the practice, which was perfected and reduced to rule by Bonaparte, commented on by General Jomini and the Austrian Archduke, and has become the principle and aim of instruction in schools; but to apply these rules on the field, argues a superior order of military genius. By strategy, battles become more rare, fortresses less important, and wars of shorter duration.

But other causes brought the war to a conclusion in 1748: the rulers weary of its continuance, the armies diminished in numbers, the finances exhausted, and even, I may add, the miserable condition of the people, if this fact ever enters into the consideration of royal councils, or the computations of politicians. Half a million of men had been taken for the war, seven thousand mercantile vessels had been plundered, half Germany and half Italy, with a great part of Flanders, had been trampled down or spoiled by the soldiery, and innumerable fortresses had been sacked and cities

destroyed. The hostile kings desired a cessation of war, and a congress of ministers accordingly met at Aix-la-Chapelle, where they concluded the preliminaries on the 18th of October of that year, which, having been ratified by the belligerent sovereigns, laid the foundations of a durable peace. I shall only refer to those heads which affected the permanent state of Italy. All returned to their condition prior to the war; the King of Sardinia, in accordance with the treaty of Vormazia, was to possess Vigevano and part of the Pavese, with the county of Anghiera; the Duke of Modena was restored to his States in Italy, and received the value of the fiefs he had lost in Hungary; Don Philip, Infant of Spain, the second son of Philip v. by Elizabeth Farnese, had the duchies of Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla, but on condition of their reverting to the present owners if Don Philip should die without issue, and if the King of Naples should succeed to the throne of Spain. The Republic of Genoa was to continue unchanged, and no allusion having been made to the Sicilies, the right of King Charles was confirmed. In the history of this long and sanguinary war, two facts alone are immortalized, and these are not battles won, nor the valour or success of the leaders, but instances of patriotic virtue in the people; namely, the loyalty of the Neapolitans and their efforts to support their king, and the wonderful enthusiasm shown by the Genoese in putting down the tyranny of a barbarous and foreign soldiery.

No slight fears were still entertained in Italy, lest the dominion of Tuscany, disputed by the Emperor Francis and the King of Naples, should lead to future wars; but this evil was averted by the proposal of a double marriage, which would at some future time make a daughter of the House of Austria queen of the Two Sicilies, and a princess of Naples Grand Duchess of Tuscany; mere suggestions at that time, which were afterwards realized. Another dispute arose concerning the island of Malta, but which was speedily settled. After the loss of Rhodes, Charles v. had bestowed Malta on the Knights of Rhodes, in fief to the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, to whose king they were to send a falcon annually as a tribute from the Order; and when vacancies occurred in the episcopal chair, the knights were to propose three candidates, one of whom was to be selected by the king. These public acknow-



ledgments of vassalage had fallen into disuse for more than two centuries, when Charles wished to revive them ; but opposed by the Grand-Master of the Order, he caused the trade with Malta to be interrupted, and their benefices in the Two Sicilies to be sequestered. The Grand-Master invoked the authority and intervention of the Pope, who wrote letters of remonstrance to the king, upon which Charles consented to the renewal of commerce, and the liberation of the benefices, besides other acts of conciliation, but retained and substantiated for himself and his successors their ancient claims upon the island.

The people of Europe were reassured by these pacific measures, and the king now gave his attention more exclusively to national reforms. He desired, and his minister Tanucci laid a scheme, for the suppression of feudal pretensions ; by the pragmatic sanction of 1738, Charles had deprived the barons of many of their privileges, which he however restored to them in 1744, as a recompense for their services during that year's campaign. The warmth of gratitude which led to so imprudent a concession, cooled down in time, but until the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle he did not venture to risk offending the most powerful body in the State ; besides, the baronial revenues, however unjust or of foreign origin, were so closely interwoven with the habits of the country, that, totally to abolish them, would have appeared an injustice even to those who would have profited by the change ; therefore the king and Tanucci, without touching the interests of the barons, their lands, revenues, rights, or profits, diminished their authority, and by abolishing many jurisdictions, by subjecting the sentences of the baronial judges to appeal, by diminishing the number of armed retainers, and laying down rules for their punishment, they weakened the power of the *mero e misto*<sup>1</sup> jurisdiction, the principal instrument of the tyranny of the barons. Soon afterwards, sundry personal obligations were abolished, and it was from that time established by law, that the power of criminal jurisdiction was never again to be conceded on the occasion of any new or renewed investitures of fiefs. By another law it was decreed that the rights of the community over feudal lands were inalienable by time. This produced law-suits, and as the judges resided in the city

<sup>1</sup> *Mero e misto*. Absolute and undefined, or the seigniorial jurisdiction of the barons.

under the eye of the king, far from the power of the barons, and in an age of franchises, they rarely if ever gave sentence against the Commons. To these acts of justice Charles added arts of policy ; he invited the great barons to his court, where, by flattering their tastes for luxury and vanities, he retained them near his person ; and when they came to reside in the city, the lesser barons, from ambition, followed their example. The fiefs were thus relieved from the presence of their feudal lords, and their armed retainers, once necessary for their protection and the maintenance of their power, became a burden and incumbrance, and were therefore diminished, allowing the provinces to breathe again. The population of the metropolis, already large, was increased ; the families of the great nobles were impoverished by their extravagant luxury, and by the neglect of their own estates, which, though evils, were not commensurate to the good arising from the depression of feudalism. The sentiments of the people underwent a change ; the barons were not as much revered as formerly, and feudalism being less sanctioned by law, the way was gradually opened for still greater reforms. The structure of the system was immense, yet it fell, in the year 1810, by the efforts of succeeding kings, though the merit of having struck the first blow is due to Charles.

This was a happy time for both king and subjects ; the viceregal oppressions were forgotten, those of the barons alleviated, and peace was secure. The palace rejoiced in a numerous progeny, provisions were abundant, and harmony existed between the people and their rulers. A small body of learned men, attached to their country and anxious for reform, were included in the Government, in order to assist Charles in the promotion of universal freedom : and the transition of the monarchy from feudal to absolute power was looked upon as a necessary stage in the life of nations : therefore the study of the king, the interests of the people, and the hopes of the reformers aimed at one goal, towards which they all hastened. The clergy and barons alone had separate interests, but the former, while champng the bit in secret, waited their opportunity, while the latter, from folly and empty pride, were delighted with the titles and decorations of nobility which the king lavishly dispensed.

But his labours, like those of other kings in the past cen-

ture, created a new class in society, which, gathering up the spoils of those which had been depressed, acquired their rights or their possessions, and was called the Third Estate—a name still earlier adopted in France, where, from their holding a place between the highest nobles and the populace, they in reality constituted the people—that most powerful element in the composition of all nations, and who have brought about those revolutions in our era, which have laid the foundation for the constitutions of kingdoms. Before these reforms, the barons and priests enjoyed wealth, authority, and jurisdiction, with the administration of the communal property as well as of justice, and retained all the branches of power in their own hands. The lowest orders had to bear the burdens of the State, and to obey. After the reforms, the great nobles, who were collected in the city and the palace, having obtained the highest position it appeared to them fortune could confer, and being desirous to maintain that eminence, centred their hopes in titles, honours, and the atmosphere of a court, gloried in a life of haughty indolence, and despised all active ambition; while the people, who at one time had been without thought, and only desirous of ease, and had never aspired to share in the government of the State, saw the possibility of rising to influence. The great, who had fallen from their position through misfortunes, or been induced, from the love of gain, or by an active disposition, to abandon the indolent life of their order, and those men who had risen by their industry or talents from the populace, contributed to swell the numbers of the Third Estate. Always energetic and increasing, this class possessed the true elements of political strength, numbers, and movement; and thus by the nature of society the Third Estate arose, and became the associate and instrument of monarchy in its transition from feudal to absolute power.

The Third Estate being thus powerful, it is important to inquire what and who were the individuals in Naples who gathered up the baronial and ecclesiastical spoils; for the character and interests of the men of whom it was composed became gradually identified with the character and interests of the government. The reader must be here reminded that the wealth of the two orders had only been lightly touched by the exchequer, and that the reforms of Charles had been confined to the right of jurisdiction; the authority

and credit of the ecclesiastical tribunals had been diminished ; the right of asylum was almost entirely abolished ; many criminal or civil cases which had lain within the ecclesiastical jurisdiction had been handed over to the secular courts ; disputed cases in fiefs or feudal lawsuits were now tried by magistrates appointed by the king ; and the authority of the royal provincial courts, as well as of the tribunals of the nobles, was diminished. All that these classes had lost in power had turned to the advantage of the courts of common law ; and, as the lower orders were admitted into them without difficulty, the Third Estate was composed chiefly of lawyers. Offices, authority, and profit fell into their hands ; the king chose his counsellors and ministers from the law tribunals ; the forensic art became political science, and amidst the vicissitudes of the kingdom, the acts of the Government took their character and aspect from lawyers.

Lawyers are timid in danger, abject in adversity, and ready to applaud the ruling powers ; confident in their own cleverness and ingenuity, they are in the habit of defending the most absurd opinions, and, though rivals among themselves in their profession, and often opposed to one another, they are always friends. The character of their eloquence is in itself an evil ; the defendant does not keep to the pleadings, but the aim of his oration is to persuade the judges, to convince or touch them by an appeal to their feelings, to attract the audience to the side of the speaker, and to gain the votes of the majority ; if he succeed, though only for the moment, it is enough ; his words are forgotten as soon as spoken, nothing remains but his fee and the boast of victory, and the more unjust the cause, the greater his glory ; thus it happens that advocates are not ashamed to employ exaggerations or even falsehoods, which are evanescent as their breath ; that the pure and simple logic of jurisprudence is changed into popular and seductive harangues, and the forum into a tribune—evils sufficiently dangerous in their effects for the ends of justice and public morals, but ruinous and pestilential when introduced into politics, and employed in revolutions of the State, when reason and truth are most needed to check the violence of the lower orders, and to moderate party zeal ; in place of which intrigue, falsehood, and license prevail, and hence the origin of much public evil.

If the reforms of Charles had extended further, they would have included, besides the Church and the fiefs, the army, commerce, and the division of property, in which case the Third Estate would have comprehended military men, merchants, and landed proprietors, and thus have changed the whole condition of the kingdom. But these reforms emanated from Tanucci, influenced indeed by noble motives, but limited in their aim to the destruction of the feudal system, and the power of the papacy. Narrow in his views, and wholly a lawyer, he neglected the army, believing it to be a useless burden on the State in times of peace, and trusting the safety of his master's crown to his relations with Spain and France, and to the new connexions he was forming with the House of Austria, and with the princes of Italy; while, ignorant of political economy and of the theories of finance and administration, a foreigner and covetous of power, he was naturally more attached to the king than to the State. He owed his reputation to his resistance to the pontiffs, to the shock he had given the feudal system, to the purity of his life, his conciliatory manners, and, above all, to the long peace the kingdom enjoyed under his administration—a virtue which throws a kindly veil over the faults of rulers.

The vices of the Third Estate were transferred to the Government, and imparted to the people a character not their own: from hence sprang despotic laws, counterfeit treaties, hollow promises, and a certain jargon of arguments or words, substituted for the immutable maxims of duty and justice; for lawyers assume that such a treaty is null because made by necessity, such an oath is of no effect because not consented to by conscience; that compacts agreed to with subjects are not to be kept, because a king cannot treat with his vassals; they call the occupation of a country a conquest, and that which is in reality the lawful obedience of the people, rebellion, besides many other subversions of truth and justice, which have been listened to and tolerated in our days.

To return to the history of Charles. The king and his subjects were equally enjoying the blessings of peace, when their hopes of increasing prosperity were interrupted by the death of Ferdinand VI. King of Spain, who, dying without issue, left the throne vacant for Charles of Naples. Hardly was the event

known, before the Spanish ministers proclaimed Charles, and governed in his name. Speedy messengers having advised the king of what had taken place, he appointed his mother, Queen Elizabeth, regent of Spain. She was living in retirement in a castle of her own, but had neither resigned her taste for royalty, nor her ambitious hopes of glory and command. When by the succession to this kingdom, it became necessary for Charles to provide immediately for that of Naples, and to transmit the sovereignty to another, he was agitated by contending feelings; for though blessed with a numerous family, six sons and two daughters, and his wife, the delight of his palace, still young, his first-born (already twelve years of age) was infirm in body, deficient in mind, and incapable of conducting the affairs, or even of entering into the enjoyments of life; and his cure was despaired of. The resolution of the father, therefore, wavered between breaking through the natural order of succession, and publishing the imbecility of his son to the world, or making over the greater crown and its succession to a man of weak intellect, and in declining health. The claims of the State prevailed. He convoked a meeting of the barons, magistrates, ministers, and ambassadors of foreign courts, besides the most learned physicians, who were ordered to examine Prince Philip before witnesses. The imbecility of the unhappy Infant was described and authenticated in a document which the king, almost in tears, commanded to be read to the Assembly.

Philip being excluded, the second son, Charles Antony, was named to succeed to the throne of Spain, and the third, Ferdinand, to that of the Sicilies; he was in robust health, intelligent, and had passed his eighth year; the king had already determined upon the regency to be appointed for the government of the kingdom; and on the 6th of October of that year 1759, surrounded by his wife and children, and in the presence of the ambassadors and ministers, and of the future regents, the Eletti of the city, and the principal barons, he caused a deed to be read, by which he proclaimed that,—Having been called by Providence to the throne of Spain and of the Indies, he renounced the crown of Naples in favour of one of his sons, as, in accordance with the terms of the European treaties, the two monarchies must remain separate and independent. He destined his second son Charles (Philip, his

eldest, being incapable of reigning) to succeed him in Spain, and his third son, Ferdinand, in the kingdom of the Sicilies. He released the last from all obligations to himself, yielded to him his rights to the throne, and commanded the people to obey him as their king. He gave the youthful king a council of regency, until he should attain his majority, which he fixed at the completion of his sixteenth year. The succession to the throne of the Sicilies was to descend by the eldest male line, and all contingencies were provided for and rules laid down for the future. In the event of failure of heirs in the male line direct as well as collateral, the female was to succeed according to the order of age; but should the female line fail, the crown was to revert to the king of Spain, to be by him ceded as a free and independent kingdom to his second son: Charles further prayed that God would prosper the people, and trusted that the provisions of this act would be permanent, and that his labours as a king might be rewarded by a prolonged peace. Having thus spoken, he turned to his son Ferdinand, and gave him his blessing, exhorted him to love his subjects, to continue faithful to his religion, to do justly and show mercy; and unsheathing his sword (the same which Louis XIV. gave to Philip V. and he to Charles), and placing it in the hand of the new king, he addressed him for the first time with the title of Majesty, saying, "Keep it for the defence of thy religion and of thy subjects:" and concluded by making the same sign over Ferdinand, as has been already recorded Philip made over him. The foreigners present acknowledged the new king, and the subjects took their oath of allegiance. Charles then appointed the regency, gave them his instructions, and repeating his prayers for the general prosperity, left the room, followed by the praises and blessings of all present.

That same day he prepared for his departure. He registered the accounts of his kingdom, and left injunctions and precepts to his son, which though not indeed remarkable for their ingenuity, were prudent and benevolent. He took nothing with him belonging to the crown of Naples, ordering that the jewels, treasures, and paraphernalia of royalty should be noted down, and consigned to the ministers of the new king, and even included the ring which he wore on his finger, and which he had found amidst the

excavations of Pompeii ; it is of no value either for material or workmanship, but, left by him as the property of the State, is now shown in the museum, less as a remarkable relic of antiquity, than as a proof of the conscientiousness of Charles. He appointed a preceptor for the young king, and recommended the Infant Philip, whom he left in the palace in Naples, to his care. He distributed titles, honours, and presents, as the rewards of fidelity or services ; and that same day before sunset, he, with his wife, two daughters, and four sons, went on board a ship belonging to the Spanish fleet, which consisted of sixteen men of war and a number of frigates. They had quitted the ports of Ferrol and Cadiz, and had arrived in Naples about the end of September, for the service of the king ; the Court of Spain was at that time the most punctilious in Europe.

All the inhabitants of the city witnessed the departure of Charles. The houses, in our mild climate, are not covered with pointed roofs or leads, but with flat terraces, from whence the beautiful shores which enclose the bay can be seen, and those who could not reach the mole or the harbour, looked down from them with grief and heavy forebodings at their monarch, hardly more to be envied than they. The recollection of his virtues, his munificence, and the buildings he had founded (which might be seen from the city), with the number and silence of the spectators, were at once the cause and the evidence of their well-founded and universal regret ; and although the laws, tribunals, the character and name of the government continued the same, the people did not cease to lament his absence, and their sorrow appeared almost to presage the calamities awaiting them under future reigns.



BOOK II.  
REIGN OF FERDINAND IV.  
1759-1790.

CHAPTER I.  
MINORITY OF THE KING.

TOWARDS the end of 1759, Ferdinand of Bourbon, who had not yet completed his eighth year, being king, the regents were Domenico Cattaneo, Prince of San Nicandro; Giuseppe Pappacoda, Prince of Centola; Pietro Bologna, Prince of Camporeale; Michele Reggio, President of Malta and Admiral of the Fleet; Domenico Sangro, Commander-in-Chief of the Army; Jacopo Milano, Prince of Ardore; Lelio Caraffa, Captain of the Guards; and Bernardo Tanucci. The king bore the titles of Ferdinand iv. King of the Two Sicilies and Jerusalem,<sup>1</sup> Infant of Spain, Duke of Parma, Piacenza, and Castro, and hereditary Grand Duke of Tuscany. The regents, trained to submission under the viceregal government, and inured to servitude in the court, were now in the decline of age, and Tanucci alone amongst them all, undertook the burden of affairs, and was considered the head of the regency; this did not, however, rouse the jealousy of the others, for, inexperienced and without the ambition to rule, they were ready to obey him, who, both by nature, and because his power was undisputed, behaved towards them with courtesy and respect. The king's tutor was the Prince San Nicandro, who, though respect-

<sup>1</sup> The title of King of Jerusalem was conceded to the Emperor Frederic II., when he was crowned by Honorius III. King of the Sicilies. He obtained it in right of

his Queen, the daughter of John, descended from Baldwin titular king of Jerusalem, and the title has ever since been retained by the kings of the Sicilies.

able in conduct, was ignorant of science or letters, and while only desirous of indulging his pupil, he was persuaded by Tanucci not to cultivate the intellect of the young Prince too highly, and that mediocrity of mind was most eligible, in the sovereign of a petty state, for the enjoyment of the pleasures of authority.

To the genuine grief of the palace and city which succeeded the departure of Charles, followed rejoicings at the accession of Ferdinand, who, after remitting the punishments for sundry crimes, liberated many prisoners, gave assurance of pardon to worse criminals, and then, with pomp and regal ceremonies, assisted in the cathedral at the hymns of thanksgiving, which were sung in the Chapel of St. Januarius. The regents next commanded that the barons, magistrates, and deputies from the communes should present themselves on stated days at the palace, there to acknowledge the new king, and to take the oath of fidelity and obedience. All hastened to obey, and trusting to the memory of his father, to the councils of the good minister, and to the prospect of a long peace, they anticipated a mild and happy reign. The king, following the example of his predecessors, demanded the investiture of his kingdom from the Pope, which, being granted, he, on the 4th February 1760, signed and swore, in the presence of the legate, Cardinal Orsini, the oath called "Of homage and vassalage to the most high Pontiff," promising thereby not to promote his own election as Emperor of the Romans,<sup>1</sup> or King of Germany, or sovereign of Lombardy or Tuscany; and in the event of his election to the same, to refuse his assent.

The regents governed in obedience to the precepts left them by Charles, as well as by fresh instructions which arrived from Spain, and were communicated to Tanucci in the form of suggestions, and sometimes even of commands. This private correspondence facilitated the designs of the minister, by rendering his colleagues still more amenable to his judgment in certain undertakings, disapproved of by their consciences; these were, emancipation from the jurisdiction of Rome, and the enfranchisement of the

<sup>1</sup> This condition was first imposed by Clement iv. on Charles of Anjou, when he granted him the investiture of the kingdom of the Sicilies, under the obligation

to renounce all pretensions to the empire for him and his successors.—See MACCHIAVELLI, vol. i. p. 36.

government from priestly domination while subjecting the ecclesiastics of the kingdom to the secular government ; which claims of the State appeared sinful to the vulgar minds of the regents ; but one kind of servility yielding before another, the real or supposed commands of Charles prevailed over the silent warnings of conscience. Thus, Tanucci contrived by despatches, ordinances, and decisions of the regency, so to change the face of affairs, and to create so many new relations and wants in society, that when the king attained his majority and assumed the reins of government, he could not undo the work already done, without producing mischief and disorder everywhere. Ferdinand was, therefore, forced to continue and proceed onwards in a path which was irrevocable ; and thus, while presenting the reader with a summary of all that was effected in matters of jurisdiction during the thirty years described in this book, I shall only record the wisdom of one man, Tanucci.

As first in importance, I shall mention the pragmatic sanctions issued by the regents and the king, upon questions relating to the tribunals of Rome, by which the ministers of the Crown disposed of the property and land of deceased bishops, abbots, and incumbents, and applied the revenues of vacant sees to secular purposes.

Several monasteries were suppressed ; two in Calabria, which had been receptacles for worthless characters ; one in the Basilicata ; four in Puglia ; three in the Abruzzi ; and twenty-eight in Sicily : all for different reasons, by an exercise of the sovereign power. The property of these monasteries reverted to the commonwealth.

The ecclesiastical tithes were first reduced, next disputed, and lastly abolished.

Subsequently, when obstacles had been removed, and the minds of the people had been prepared for still greater reforms, acquisitions in mortmain were interdicted, monasteries, churches, charitable foundations, the property of confraternities, seminaries, and colleges, were declared to be in *manua morta*, dead in law ; and under the head of acquisitions were comprehended all kinds of new property, additions to houses or monasteries, the foundations of new churches or chapels, the patrimony<sup>1</sup> of priests, and the dowry

<sup>1</sup> *Patrimony of priests.* No man could enter the priesthood without having a certain extent of land assigned him ; and if his family were too poor to give the required

of nuns, if they exceeded the limits fixed by law, as well as alms given for feasts, for processions, and masses. This wise law forbade notaries to indite wills by which new acquisitions could pass into the hands of such persons, prevented exchanges of property,<sup>1</sup> and made *emphyteusis*, long leases, and leases renewed to the same lessees equal to *censi*;<sup>2</sup> so that, while the mainmort continued to receive the payment for the land, he lost the right of actual possession.

These measures, which were too enlightened for the times, were opposed by the ignorance of the people, and evaded by the cunning of the clergy. A devout lady in her will named "*her soul*" heir to her property: Giovan Battista Latilli of Bitonto, dying suddenly, the bishop and parish priest together made the will "*for the soul*," tying up a large portion of the inheritance for the celebration of masses; the Bishop of Bisceglia made a similar will "*for the soul*" of Francesco Pascullo, killed; and the vicar of the diocese in Pisticce made one "*for the soul*" of the priest Lisanti, who had died intestate. All these wills were revoked by order of the government; the bishops were censured, and wills in which property was bequeathed to *the soul* and *for the soul* were prohibited by law. The natural heirs succeeded to their inheritance, and in the case of Pascullo, who had no heirs, the community of Bisceglia inherited his property.

By these means the secular government contrived to diminish the inordinate wealth of the Church, while by other laws, the pretensions of the pontiffs, which they claimed as rights, were lessened. The lay jurisdiction was enlarged, and the ecclesiastical proportionably restricted, and an advocate for the Crown appointed to watch over the rights of the sovereign was added to the "*misto*" tribunal, and to the delegate of the royal provincial court; both which magistracies have been referred to in the preceding book.

The number of priests was diminished; the ten for every

patrimony, it was sometimes advanced by a friend, thus securing the Church from being burdened by a poor priesthood.

<sup>1</sup> *Exchange of property.*—It was not unusual for ecclesiastical property to be exchanged for adjoining land, if convenient.

<sup>2</sup> *Censi.*—The deeds by which land rented remained in the hands of the same person as long as the rent was paid, while *emphyteusis*, or land held in *jure emphyteutico*, was originally only retained for a term of years, and upon certain conditions.

thousand souls, allowed by Charles, became the law of the State ; after a time the sacerdotal friars were included in the ten, and finally the ten were reduced to five.

Priests or deacons without a patrimony were not allowed to be ordained, nor could their patrimony be increased or fixed at an amount to injure the family.

Only sons were forbidden to enter the priesthood, and when there was one priest already in the family, a second was not permitted.

If any bull or charter of the pontiff, whether recent, old, or of distant date, had not received the royal assent, it was declared of no effect ; “ *nor could usage, sufferance, nor the negligence of former monarchs suffice,*” such are the words of the edict, “ *to make them lawful.*” The royal assent was thus defined : “ *The royal will, inalienable, which can never set limits to its own powers, nor surpass them ;*” and in other edicts, “ *The concessions relating to ecclesiastical matters made or consented to by the king, may be dissolved at the pleasure of the same king, or by the kings, his successors. The wills of founders may be suppressed or changed at the good pleasure of the king. Ecclesiastics are to depend upon the king, and the magistrates appointed by him ; and there is no dignity upon earth which has the right or power to derogate from what is here set forth.*”

After these laws had been applied in many cases, and repeated in the acts of the government, they gradually came to guide the practice and opinions of the magistrates in their judicial decisions, and to be respected by the people. It was now forbidden to appeal to Rome without the royal permission ; the provisions made by the Roman chancery for the incumbents of benefices were annulled by the king ; the grants of the pontiffs upon episcopal revenues were stopped ; the Pope was forbidden to unite, separate, or change the boundaries of dioceses ; the rules of the Roman chancery were abolished ; and no nuncio was accepted who had not been approved of by the king. Marriage was defined as *by its nature a civil contract, and the religious ceremony an accessory* ; lawsuits connected with marriage were placed within lay competency, or if tried by the bishops, through a power delegated to them by the king. This was established in practice in the case of the Duke di Maddaloni,

who wished to dissolve his marriage by an article of the Council of Trent, which provided for such cases. The name, rank, and wealth of both parties made this the most famous suit of those times, and the nuncio was therefore anxious to bring it before the tribunal of the nunciature; but the king having appointed the magistrate by whom the case was to be decided, confirmed the law by which marriage was to be considered a civil contract.

The power of the Neapolitan bishops was increased by these means, at the expense of Rome, although the episcopal authority within the country was restricted and humbled. Bishops were prohibited from meddling with public instruction, or printing anything not subject to the common censorship, and approved by the king. Episcopal censures, as well as trials for moral offences, and the power of incarceration, were forbidden. Personal immunities were next abolished, begging for religious purposes prohibited, ecclesiastical fees subjected to a tariff, charitable institutions released from loans to bishops, and certain episcopal extortions, whose claims were so ancient that their origin was forgotten, were for ever revoked;—the decree was thus worded: "*The bishop cannot prescribe laws as supreme.*"

I must here remind the reader, that when, in 1746, the Pope and Cardinal Spinelli attempted to introduce the tribunal of the Holy Office, and the people rose in rebellion, quiet was not restored until every trace of the detested tribunal had disappeared, and until (as a security for the future) four of the people were elected with the name and charge of deputies to guard against the introduction of the Holy Office. These persons, after the departure of Charles, demanded from the king his successor, the confirmation of the privileges granted by his predecessor, to the prayers, tribute, or violence of the people. The regents, anxious to satisfy their just demands, reproduced the edicts of Charles, which were confirmed and sworn to by his successor; and shortly before the king attained his majority, when enjoining the magistrates to watch over the rights of the sovereignty, in order to prevent the revival of those evil practices of the Court of Rome which had with difficulty been extirpated by the wisdom of the two Bourbon kings, the regents imposed an obligation on the royal chamber of Santa Chiara, and on the delegate of the royal court of judicature, as well

as the advocate for the Crown, to instruct the ruler and his subjects by means of popular works, in the true doctrines of the Christian religion, to reconcile the Government with the priesthood, and the decisions of the magistrates with the consciences of the people.

While the regents were thus engaged, the Prince of San Nicandro attended to the health and studies of the king, who, blessed from his birth with a robust constitution, and his time devoted to athletic exercises, acquired daily more muscular power, and delighted in feats of strength, in which he was encouraged by his preceptor, who was proud of this proof of his physical development. The game-laws were revived, as well as punishments, including flogging for trespassers ; the woods were filled with wild animals, the number of keepers were increased, and as Ferdinand surpassed even Charles in his immoderate passion for the chase, new forests were added to the old. The king was twelve years of age. Exercise and pleasure consumed many hours of the day, and diverted his mind from studies. His masters were men of the greatest celebrity and learning, but sometimes time, sometimes the will was wanting, and his instruction was entirely neglected or seldom attended to. The king was seen growing up in bodily strength and mental ignorance, to the future peril of the State.

As a child he disliked, and as a man he was ashamed, to converse with men of learning. He loved to display his skill, or boast of his experience in bringing down swans or stags, in hitting birds flying, or breaking-in horses ; of his sagacity as a fisherman, and how he was first in the race—accomplishments befitting man in a savage state, but admired by the common people who had been trained in the manners of Spain. As years progressed, the rude tastes of the king likewise increased, and having become the absolute sovereign of a wealthy monarchy when he had hardly reached man's estate (being only sixteen years old), he wasted his time in pleasures, and in domineering over youths like himself, ignorant, and fond of athletic sports. Skill in these exercises, strength, a dissipated life, and other vulgar tastes, became objects of ambition among his subjects, and more especially among the nobles, the companions of the king, or admired by him in his court. He was so partial to these barbarous amusements, that a long life and reign of varied fortunes could not suffice to banish

them. He was already a husband and father when at Portici, after instructing a body of soldiers, he called *Liparotti*, in the use of arms, he set up a booth in the camp, and himself attired in the dress, and with all the apparatus of a sutler, assumed that calling, selling food and wine at a low price, whilst the courtiers, and sometimes his queen, acted the part of the attendants and the hostess. Once on a time when playing at ball, he happened to notice among the spectators a lean hungry-looking man, his hair powdered, and attired in the black and shining dress of an *abate*. The king determined to amuse himself at his expense, by making him ridiculous; he whispered in the ear of one of his courtiers, who was seen to leave the place and return with a blanket, which four of the stoutest of those who had been engaged in the game (the king being one of them), held out by the corners. The *abate* was suddenly seized by the servants, or creatures of Ferdinand, and hurried into the arena of the game, forced into the blanket, and tossed several times in the air, falling back again in awkward attitudes amidst the laughter and shouts of the king and the rabble, who anticipated a succession of similar low and barbarous diversions. This *abate* happening to be Signor Mazzinghi, a noble Florentine, the Court of Tuscany complained to the Courts of Naples and Spain; but, as the claims of a private individual could not disturb the harmony existing between princes, it was left for history to revenge Mazzinghi. Escaping from the inhospitable city, and ashamed to return to his country, he remained a few months at Rome, where he died of melancholy.

Several times every year, after fishing in the lakes of Patria and of Fusàro, the king sold the fish, assuming the manners and dress of a fishmonger, and bargaining as eagerly as any. Neither sickness nor death in his family, nor unsuccessful wars, nor the calamities of his kingdom, nor the loss of a crown, could turn him from the pleasures of the chase nor from vulgar amusements. These exercises, and the fatigue which followed, idleness, much eating, and prolonged sleep, filling all the hours of the day, consumed the time which should have been devoted to the cultivation of his mind, or the government of the State. He never opened a book from a love of study, or read a paper from interest in public affairs; and, as the regents ruled the kingdom during his minority, so his minis-



ters or his wife ruled it when he became independent. As he found it tedious to subscribe his name to the acts of the government, he ordered them to be signed in his presence and impressed with his signet, which he jealously guarded. Impatient under every exertion of mind, the councils of state disgusted him, and he therefore rarely summoned, and quickly dissolved them, forbidding inkstands, to avoid the delay caused by writing. I give these particulars, as they may account for many succeeding events which would otherwise appear incredible.

In the year 1763, an expected scarcity in corn induced the rulers and the citizens to fill the public and private storehouses with all expedition. The remedy proved in itself an evil, because by laying up so much grain in reserve, a superfluity was provided for the future, while the present wants of the people were neglected. This confirmed the scarcity in the commencement of the year 1764, and made it general. The anxiety and complaints of the people, the mistakes of the Government, the rapacity of the merchants, with the profits which fell to the few, always the case in every public calamity, produced greater evils and dangers; the poor were seen dying of want, it was said that the magazines and bakers' ovens were empty, and innumerable thefts, crimes, and robberies followed. The regents, by fixing a low price upon corn in every town or city, ruined the markets, and by maintaining that the scarcity was not real, but produced by monopolists, excited disturbances, and they caused the murder of certain usurers by designating them by their names. Royal commissaries, with troops of armed followers, were sent into the provinces to discover the deposits of wheat, to sell it in the markets, and to punish (the edict ran thus) "*the usurers, the enemies of the poor.*" The Marquis Pallanti, the chief commissary, who was intrusted with supreme power, wishing to make a display of rigorous justice, caused gallows to be erected in the villages, where he shortly arrived, followed by a numerous and disreputable suite of bailiffs and hangmen. No deposit was discovered, because all the magazines of corn had been already rifled by the people, and no one was punished because the monopoly was imaginary. These measures only served to prove the inefficiency of the Government, and to increase the despair, and the disorders among the people. It is unknown how many died of hunger, or were killed

in the tumults, for in both cases the computation was either neglected, or the government from prudence concealed the numbers. At length the news of the famine in Naples reaching foreign markets, many ships laden with corn speedily arrived, and thus the scarcity ceased. A fresh pragmatic sanction dissolved the contracts entered into for the famine, reducing articles, the cost of which had been formerly regulated by the will and interests of the community, to a low price, and prescribing certain conditions, while other decrees remitted the punishments for crimes, such as thefts, robberies, and homicides, occasioned by the scarcity. All maxims of State policy and of justice were violated.

The regents failed to learn a lesson even from the events just described ; on the contrary, they became more timid, increased the provisions in the public storehouses during the subsequent years, forbade the export of the native products of the kingdom, and made the distress twofold. As the citizens, therefore, left the country in vast numbers, it became necessary for the Government, in April 1766, to restrain and limit their emigration by laws and penalties.

## CHAPTER II.

## THE KING ATTAINS HIS MAJORITY, AND ASSUMES THE GOVERNMENT.

ON the 12th January 1767, King Ferdinand ended his minority; the event passed over in silence, for the day was neither celebrated by any act of the Government, ceremony in the palace, nor rejoicings in the city; the regents became councillors and ministers, and in substance as well as appearance the Government was unchanged. As the reader is sufficiently acquainted with the internal state of the kingdom, it now becomes important to give a brief sketch of relations abroad. The powers of the North, who, to maintain the political balance of that time, did not find it necessary to extend their covetous and ambitious designs as far as Naples, continued faithful to the commercial treaties concluded with Charles. The connexion with Spain and France was one of friendship rather than alliance, for the convention agreed to between these two kingdoms, called the Family Compact, had likewise been accepted (with the secret connivance of the King of Spain) by the Bourbons of Sicily and Parma. The House of Austria was engaged in negotiating a new tie of relationship with the King of Naples. The Seven Years' War had ended in 1763; Germany was in repose, and Italy at peace. Don Philip, Duke of Parma, was dead, and his death was soon followed by that of the old Queen Elizabeth Farnese; both of whom had instigated wars for the gratification of their ambition. Pope Clement XIII. was engaged in a contest with Naples, but as he was destitute of secular arms, his spiritual weapons inspired no fear.

The first act of the king, upon attaining his majority, was the expulsion of the Jesuits. As Ferdinand himself some time later recalled the exiled Order, while other sovereigns converted their hostility into favours, it is important to know the reason of

this enmity, as well as of the reconciliation which followed. It is well known by other histories how, in the year 1540, under the pontificate of Paul III., the Company of Jesus was instituted to teach and convert, professing vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience ; how they were dispersed in various parts of the world, and in royal palaces ; how from being poor, they became opulent, how from the lowest places they filled the highest, from humble they became ambitious, and how many a dispute was raised or put an end to through their means.

In the year 1758, Joseph I. King of Portugal, returning after a night's orgies from the city to the palace, received a slight wound from a musket-ball ; upon inquiry being made into the authors and origin of this accident, it was discovered that several of the nobles and of the Jesuits had conspired to kill the king, in order to change their master, the court, and the ministers. Some of the nobles were tried and executed ; and two Jesuit friars, renowned for sanctity, perished in prison, at the command, it was said, of the Marquis di Pombal, the all-powerful minister of Joseph ; another Jesuit, by name Malagrida, accused before the tribunal of the Holy Office, and declared to have seduced the people, ended his life at the stake in the city of Lisbon ; and the rest of the Order were all in one day embarked, and landed on the shore at Civita Vecchia in the States of the Pope. This was the first banishment of the Jesuits ; the second came from France, where Louis xv., urged on by intrigues in his court, by the persuasions of Pompadour,<sup>1</sup> and the decrees of his parliaments, expelled the Company of Jesus in 1764 ; and three years later, Charles III.<sup>2</sup> exiled them from Spain, commanding his son and nephew, the sovereigns of Naples and Parma, to imitate his example.

In the middle of the night of the 3d November 1767, all the houses of the Jesuits in the Neapolitan kingdom (monasteries or colleges) were surrounded by the officers of the king and by gendarmes ; the doors were forced open or thrown down, every cell taken possession of and guarded ; the friars, their servants and

<sup>1</sup> Madame de Pompadour was implacable in her hatred of the Jesuits, since the Jesuit Father Sacy refused to reconcile her with Heaven until she reformed her life.

<sup>2</sup> By the advice of his minister, Count d'Aranda, and without apprising the Pope of his intention.

pupils, were collected in a room of each building, and their furniture sequestrated, leaving no man anything but his clothes ; this done, they were escorted in a body to the nearest port or strand, and embarked on board a ship, which immediately weighed anchor : not even the aged or infirm were permitted to remain, departing so suddenly that all the Jesuits from the city were sailing past Terracina before the light of the 4th November had dawned.

This precipitation and rigour was either in consequence of the example of Madrid, or it was intended, by thus taking the people by surprise, and under the concealment of night, to hide from them a sight so affecting and impious. The edicts issued on the following day ran as follows :—" We, the king making use of the supreme and independent power which we acknowledge immediately from God, and which by his omnipotence is inseparably united to our sovereign right, given us for the government and guidance of our subjects, do hereby will and command that the said Company of Jesus be for ever dissolved and perpetually exiled from our kingdoms of the Sicilies."

Other ordinances followed to assure the people that the property of the Jesuits, although confiscated, would be applied to works of charity, and for the general benefit ; that the self-imposed duties of these friars, their alms, obligations, and meritorious works would be continued, that their places would be supplied in the services of the Church, and that after their schools had been reorganized, the public instruction given there would be both more liberal and erudite.

The amount of wealth confiscated to the exchequer was unknown, because studiously concealed by the Government ; but the friars having perhaps heard, and indubitably suspected their impending misfortune, had already carried off many articles, valuable either for the material of which they were composed, or for the excellence of their workmanship. The expulsion of the Jesuits was variously regarded ; it was lamented by the weak and hypocritical, while the wise approved the measure, the masses showed no interest in the subject ; and the remaining friars and priests rejoiced, from their natural jealousy and envy of the prosperity and power of the Order. The minister Tanucci was triumphant, and the king indifferent ; but the mind of the youthful sovereign was thus

training boldly to oppose the claims of the Church, and to draw a distinction in his conscience between that which belonged to Christian humility, and what was due to his royal dignity.

For many consecutive months the promises which had been given were faithfully performed ; and after the Government had proved its sincerity by its acts, another edict appeared, which I must here transcribe to the honour of the king :—“ After the just and necessary expulsion from our dominions of the Company which calls itself of Jesus, we, by our paternal care, and by the sovereign power which we derive directly from God (taking upon ourselves to explain and alter the intentions of those who, in leaving their property to the said Company, mean to devote it through the works which this Society professed to perform, to the spiritual welfare of their countrymen), have founded public schools and colleges for the gratuitous education of poor youths in piety and in the knowledge of letters ; likewise hospitals for the maintenance of the male and female orphans belonging to the lower classes, and for their instruction in various trades ; as well as asylums for poor invalids or able-bodied vagrants, who, taken from a life of idleness, in which condition they were a burden and pernicious to the State, are now rendered useful by learning the arts required in our social condition. The community is relieved from the annual loans to the exiled Company for the maintenance of schools ; the people in the provinces are benefited by the division of vast tracts of land into small farms ; honest but necessitous persons are assisted by a fixed sum given daily in alms, and many other works of public utility have been performed, or are to be completed, when the first claims (those of Divine worship and the exercises of religion) have been provided for. By this use made of the property of the exiled Company, the demands of public charity have been abundantly satisfied ; and with regard to the sanctuary, seeing the time is now arrived to apply the warning which Moses, inspired by God, delivered to the Hebrew people, to bring no more gifts to the altar, we, consulting the interests of our subjects, and their secure enjoyment of their property, do, by this edict, resolve and declare all the entails or bequests falling to the exiled Jesuits, but not yet in their possession, to be cancelled ; it being our royal will that the property comprehended in the entails or bequests, shall remain at the free disposal

of the last lay proprietor, after whom it may be claimed by the Jesuits.

“ FERDINAND REX.”

“ NAPLES, 28th July 1769.”

In the midst of these transactions, letters from the Pope, in the form of briefs, were circulating throughout Europe, attacking the Duke of Parma<sup>1</sup> for having, after the example of other sovereigns, expelled the Company of Jesus. Clement XIII., by threatening the sovereign of a petty state, and a minor, whose anger he did not fear, with anathemas and censures, tried the efficacy of his spiritual weapons, before striking a blow at more powerful sovereigns. The brief began by declaring that the state of Parma was a fief of the Church, and that acts hostile to the Company of Jesus were adverse to the rights and authority of the papacy, and were made in contempt of the warnings, indulgence, and clemency of the most high pontiff; it concluded in these words:—“ As it is notorious and indisputable (by the Bull of *Cœna Domini*), that the authors or participators in the publication of the above-mentioned deeds, have incurred the ecclesiastical censures, so these same cannot receive absolution from any excepting ourselves and our successors.”

The duchy of Parma was governed during the prince's minority by the minister Guillaume de Tillot, a Frenchman; without making any change in the administration, he appealed to the kings of Spain, France, Naples, and Portugal, against the Pope, who had offended all Catholic sovereigns in the person of the sovereign of Parma. The King of Portugal, practised in controversy, expressed his disapprobation of the brief; the King of Spain refuted it, by reproducing the disputes and protests against the Bill of *Cœna Domini*; Louis, King of France, ordered his troops to occupy the states of Avignon and the Venaissin, possessed by the Pope;

<sup>1</sup> Ferdinand, Duke of Parma, son of Don Philip, and grandson of Philip v. King of Spain, and Queen Elizabeth Farnese, was seventeen years of age. Born 1751, he succeeded his father in the duchies of Parma and Placentia in 1765, and expelled the Jesuits in 1768. He married Marie Amalie, Archduchess of Austria, daughter of the

Emperor Francis I. By a secret article of the Treaty of Luneville, 1801, it was stipulated that he should succeed to the grand duchy of Tuscany; but the grand duke refusing to consent, the arrangement was not made public, and the Duke of Parma died in 1802.

and in Naples, the royal chamber of Santa Chiara, and the delegate of the royal jurisdiction, determined to support the claims of the sovereignty, and while pointing out the fallacy of the pretensions of Rome, petitioned the king to provide for the maintenance of his own rights and those of the State; the king, in his turn, after expressing his disapprobation of the brief, and forbidding its publication within his realms, commanded Benevento<sup>1</sup> and Pontecorvo to return to their ancient allegiance to the kings of the Sicilies. While taking possession of these states, and acting as their legitimate and hereditary sovereign, he confirmed the citizens in their present franchises, renewed those formerly granted them by past kings from the days of Roger, and promised them more as a reward for fidelity. The people of these provinces took the oath to the new government, ready to abandon the old, partly from their usual fickleness, and partly because generous minds revolt from submission to priestly rule, even when it brings with it ease and quiet. Upon this, the Pope conjured the Empress Maria Theresa to use her authority to bring peace to religion, to the Church, and to monarchs; but she, feigning modesty and inability, declined the office, interdicted the Bull of *Cœna Domini* in her own dominions in Italy, and commanded that the copies already introduced should be burnt. Such were the repulses which the papacy brought upon itself in the year 1768, by its insatiable thirst for power.

King Ferdinand having attained the age of manhood, entered into a treaty of marriage with Maria Josephine, archduchess of Austria, daughter of the Emperor Francis I. The marriage having been settled, and the gifts interchanged, the day of departure for the young bride was fixed, and the festivals, which were to greet her on her journey, prepared, when she fell ill and died; and the gala dresses and rejoicings throughout the empire, and in the imperial house, were changed into mourning. Another princess, Maria Caroline, sister of the deceased, was chosen for the wife of Ferdinand; and in April 1768, she left Vienna for Naples. Re-

<sup>1</sup> *Benevento*. Bestowed by the Norman conquerors on the popes for the investiture of Puglia and Calabria. The princes of Benevento remained feudatories of the

popes until 1077, when Landulphus the last prince died, and Benevento remained under the direct dominion of the popes.



ceived with honours by all the princes of Italy, and more especially in Florence, where reigned her brother Pietro Leopoldo, she arrived at Portella on the 12th of May, and was there met by her bridegroom. The palace of Caserta first received them, and from thence they proceeded privately to Naples on the 19th of the same month, and on the 22d made their public entry in regal state. The fêtes and rejoicings in the city and the palace lasted several months ; the king delighting in such amusements, the queen encouraging them from vanity, the courtiers from adulation, and the populace from their love of pageantry, and the profit it brought to them.

A princess of the House of Austria, queen of the largest dominions in Italy, and wife of an indolent monarch, Caroline changed the whole policy of the government, which had hitherto been subservient to the will of Charles, King of Spain. The young queen was the better able to succeed, as she was admitted into the councils of state, which, though neither in accordance with the laws nor usages of the monarchy, had been stipulated for in the marriage articles. The minister Tanucci, who derived his power from the Court of Madrid, was disliked by the queen, who was equally distasteful to him, and he lamented when too late that he had advised or encouraged the ignorance of the king. Although Caroline had not yet completed her sixteenth year, her understanding was mature ; and, beautiful and clever, she appeared a harbinger of prosperity to the kingdom, and attracted the eyes, while rousing the hopes of the people. Her brother, Pietro Leopoldo, grand duke of Tuscany, had followed her to Naples for her marriage ; and the year after arrived her other brother, the Emperor Joseph, both of whom, while conversing with the most learned men in the kingdom, expatiated on their projects for the reformation of their states, according to the dictates of the age and of a wise policy. Thus the whole progeny of Maria Theresa appeared to us a family of philosophers in high places, sent by God to regenerate the human race.

Upon the death of Clement XIII. in that year, 1769, Brother Lorenzo Ganganelli ascended the papal throne, under the name of Clement XIV. Having learned a lesson from the vexations <sup>enc</sup>ured by his predecessor, better understanding the spirit of the times, and being desirous of peace, he proposed terms of accom-

modation to the offended monarchs. Appeased by his urbanity and proffered pledges of friendship, they accepted the nuncios, sent ambassadors to his court, and restored to him the dominions which had been occupied by their troops. While maintaining the promises he had given, the pontiff reflected that the discord which was hardly extinguished proceeded from, or was aggravated by, the affair of the Company of Jesus, and, yielding to the continued entreaties of the princes, he published a brief, in which he confirmed their banishment. The brief was couched in the ambiguous language of Rome, and so as almost to appear as if, to avoid a worse evil, the pope had consented to yield before the superior power of the princes;<sup>1</sup> but they, who were both proud and jealous of their prerogatives, yet in awe of the priest for conscience' sake, in their turn dissembled, and appeared not to perceive his duplicity. Clement was enjoying the fruits of this peace, when he was seized by an illness of which he died, after great suffering. The circumstances of his disease and of his death, or certain antidotes he had taken, confirmed the rumour that he had died of poison, administered by the friars of the Order in revenge for the brief which deprived these robbers of their privileges, and the expectation of recovering their former wealth. If the rumour was false, the suspicion was not improbable.

Pius VI., Cardinal Braschi, became Pope. As the King of Naples, through his ministers, had opposed his election, the two sovereigns, both from political and personal motives, were doubly hostile to one another. The archiepiscopal see of Naples falling vacant, the king, although the right was claimed by the pontiff, appointed a successor, and commanded the new archbishop, in his pastoral letters, to omit the solemn words, "By the grace of the apostolic see," in order to prevent the bare supposition of the pope having had any share in his appointment. For three past centuries at least, the archbishops of Naples had obtained the cardinal's purple, but Pius VI. refused it to the new archbishop. Upon this, the king wrote to inform him that his refusal was only a fresh inducement for him to accomplish a design he had long meditated,

<sup>1</sup> Ce bref est rédigé de manière à ne point flétrir la compagnie. Il est remarquable la que suppression est prononcée,

non pour les torts, mais à cause des accusations portées contre elle.—Tecqueville, *Règne de Louis XV.*, vol. ii. p. 352.

to found a new ecclesiastical order in his kingdom, eminent in rank and wealth, and likewise decorated with the purple ; one which, in reality as well as in appearance, should vie in magnificence with the college of cardinals. This threat was intended as an insult to the hierarchy ; but, nevertheless, though the archbishop did not receive the hat, neither did the king found the order. Soon afterwards, Ferdinand nominated Francesco Serrao to the bishopric of Potenza ; he was the learned author of many works in favour of lay jurisdictions, and so noted a Jansenist, that the Pope refused to consecrate him ; and neither advice, menaces, nor entreaties could move him from this determination, until the king at last informed him he would cause the new bishops to be consecrated in each province by three of the existing bishops, according to the rules prescribed by the holy and early discipline of the Church.

In the year 1776, a trifling accident gave rise to an affair of importance. It was customary for the kings of Naples (as has been already mentioned in the course of this history) to present the Pope annually with the *chineia* (a white horse richly caparisoned) and seven thousand ducats in gold. This imposing ceremony took place on the 29th June, the day of St. Peter, when the ambassador presented the offerings in the name of the king to the pontiff, who received them in the portico of the Basilica of the Vatican, pronouncing these words : “ This is the offering due to the pope for the donation of the absolute dominion of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies.” That year, while Prince Colonna, grand constable of the kingdom and ambassador from the king, was riding to the Basilica, a dispute for precedence arose between the servants of the Spanish ambassador and those of the governor of Rome, causing a pressure in the crowd, and a disturbance, which was however, quickly suppressed. After the ceremony was over, the ambassador wrote to the king, informing him of what had occurred, and Ferdinand, through a despatch of his minister, replied as follows :—

“ The disputes which have arisen on the occasion of the presentation of the *chineia* have afflicted the devout soul of the king, as, considering the place, the time, and the circumstances, they might have occasioned serious consequences to disturb the harmony existing between the two sovereigns and the two

states. As this example has proved how an act of pure devotion, such as the offering of the *chinea*, may be a source of scandal and discord, he has deliberated and resolved that the ceremony shall cease for the future, and that in place of this act of devotion towards the holy apostles, he shall, through his representatives or ministers, perform whatever else may be pleasing to them. Example, reason, reflection, prudence, humanity, and conscience, concur to move the royal mind to this determination, the form of this act being solely dependent upon the sovereign will, upon his pious inclinations and religious humility. These sentiments of filial reverence towards the supreme head of the Church may be communicated to the Court of Rome. Dated Naples, 29th July 1776."

The Pope demanded the revocation of this deed, but, unable to succeed, protested against it; and although the humiliating tribute ceased from that day, he continued at every succeeding feast of St. Peter to complain and protest against the conduct of the government of Naples. A few years later, the king privately offered him seven thousand ducats of gold without the *chinea* or the ceremony, as the gift of a prince devoted to the Church; but the Pope refused its acceptance, declaring his rights more solemnly than ever, and the disobedience (as he called it) of the Court of Naples.

The news spread everywhere of the good laws passed by Joseph and Leopold for the benefit of their people; they were approved of by the *savans*, were highly commended by the Queen of Naples, the sister of these princes, even excited a certain desire for glory in the indolent temper of the king, and thus smoothed the progress of the minister Tanucci, and of other noble men of that time, in the difficult path which leads towards political freedom. Palmieri<sup>1</sup> and Caracciolo,<sup>2</sup> De Gennaro<sup>3</sup> and Galliani,<sup>4</sup> besides other men of great learning, holding the posi-

<sup>1</sup> *Palmieri*, professor of theology at Pavia; born at Genoa 1753; he advocated the system of political reform introduced by Joseph II.; died 1820.

<sup>2</sup> *Caracciolo*, a learned philosopher, born at Paris of a Neapolitan family, 1721; joined the order of St. Philip Neri; was received with honours by Benedict XIV.

and Clement XIII.: obtained a pension from the Empress Maria Theresa, died 1803.

<sup>3</sup> *De Gennaro*, a celebrated juriconsult; appointed a magistrate by Charles, who confided to him the task of reducing the legislative codes into one; born 1701, died 1761.

<sup>4</sup> *Galliani*, a writer on political economy.

tions of ministers or magistrates, had, by their authority and example, diffused the knowledge of political science ; whilst the minds of rulers and subjects were alike preparing to receive sound reforms through the writings of Filangieri,<sup>1</sup> Pagano,<sup>2</sup> Galanti,<sup>3</sup> and Conforti,<sup>4</sup> and by lectures which had been recently delivered by Antonio Genovese, a prodigy of genius and virtue, and a man of vast erudition, though in poor circumstances. Academies, meetings, and even conversation, exercised their influence in the same direction ; for the good of the State was the theme of every one's study, and the applause of society surrounded whoever could speak best on this subject.

The banishment of the Jesuits had roused a spirit of rivalry, and afforded the means for the organization of a system of national education, as the Government felt itself pledged to surpass the good works supposed to have been accomplished by the exiled company. Every community paid salaries to masters in reading, writing, and arithmetic ; a college of nobles was instituted in every province, where twelve lectures were delivered, two on theology, and the rest on science or literature ; the same was introduced in the principal cities of the kingdom, and, though fewer, in the smaller cities likewise. The instruction was public, and the professors were chosen by public examination. The bishops, who had the sole direction of the seminaries, under the authority of the king, had neither voice nor power of interference in the secular schools ; and when, trusting to the piety of the prince or to ancient customs, they had the audacity to meddle, they met with severe repulse and censure. Upon a bishop once denouncing certain masters for not observing the rules of the Catholic faith, he was answered, that the sole condition required from teachers in the public schools was, that they should be Christians ; and upon the request of another bishop, that some professorships

<sup>1</sup> *Filangieri*, an author who contributed largely to the progress of political science and jurisprudence ; born at Naples 1752 ; died at the age of thirty-six, 1788.

<sup>2</sup> *Pagano*, a celebrated jurisconsult, and friend of Filangieri ; born 1748, died on the scaffold, 1800.

<sup>3</sup> *Galanti*, a writer on jurisprudence ; born 1743, died 1806.

<sup>4</sup> *Conforti*, professor of history in the university of Naples ; he was in sacred orders, but was employed by Tanucci to write in defence of the rights of the Crown against the pretensions of Rome ; born 1743, he died on the scaffold, 1799.

in his diocese should be suppressed, which, in violation of the papal bull, had been filled up without his permission, the king declared the permission of the bishop to be unnecessary, that it was an offence to ask it, and the bull which was quoted in support of this bold demand was for ever annulled.

The University (*degli studii*) founded by Frederic II., altered (often for the worse) by the kings his successors, and which had almost ceased to exist during the long period of the viceroys, had been revived by Charles, and was now brought to perfection by Ferdinand, who collected there all the intellect of the age. The salaries of the professors were raised as well as their hopes for the future of the university; useless professorships were abolished, while seven new were added, which I shall here specify, to prove how the ideas of the time already leaned toward useful institutions. They were Italian, elocution, the art of criticism as applied to the history of the kingdom, agriculture, architecture, geodæsia, natural history, and mechanics. An extensive building called the Salvatore, formerly the monastery of the Jesuits, supplied rooms for the university; it contained besides the academies of painting, sculpture, and architecture, the Farnese and Palatine libraries, the Herculanæum and Farnese museums, a museum of natural history, a botanic garden, a chemical laboratory, an astronomical observatory, and a theatre of anatomy; all of which were either wholly new, or improvements upon the old. The Farnese library and museum formed part of the wealth which King Charles brought with him to Naples, and to obtain which he had robbed the palace of Parma.

The statutes of the academy of science and literature were altered and reformed; for the trivial details and formalities of past times were abandoned, and only looking to the question of public utility, it was laid down as a rule, that the sciences should be applied to the service of the arts, trade, and medicine, and to the discovery of new truths; while the study of letters was to be employed to clear up obscurities in the history of the country, to advance general knowledge, and teach the art of self-government. But it is a fact worthy of note, that by law the major-domo at Court was president of the academy, and that the honorary members were chosen by *the supreme arbitrament of the king* (such are the

words of the statute), and *from the highest nobility*; so impossible was it to emancipate any social institution whatsoever from the royal arbitration, and from the power of the nobles. The *Herculeum* academy was revived. It was begun by Charles in 1755, but afterwards fell into neglect; so that only four academicians, who happened to reach old age, remained, out of seventeen. I will postpone the account of the military academies to their proper place, and only mention here, that they were founded at this time.

In these various schools or academies the most learned men of the kingdom were collected as masters or fellows; other institutions of a like nature sprang up, and all of them as they became known were held in high consideration throughout Italy, and were an honour to their country and the age. As the limits of my work will not allow me to record all the illustrious names they produced, I shall only mention those who played a prominent part in history. Among the nobles were Raimondo di Sangro, Prince of Sanseverino, Francesco Spinelli, Prince of Scalèa, and Paolo Doria, Prince of Angri; among the magistrates, the Marquis Vargas Macchiucca, Giuseppe Aurelio de Gennaro, Pasquale Cirillo, and Biagio Troise; among the ecclesiastics, besides Galliani and Genovese, the Padre della Torre, one of the three brothers Martini, the Padre Càrcani, and the Archbishop Rossi; and lastly, among the ladies, Faustina Pignatelli, Giuseppa Barbapiccola, Eleonora Pimentel, and, above all, Mariangiola Ardinghelli. Those classes in which the studies had been formerly least assiduous, were at that time the most zealously attended.

Many valuable works were published, two of the most celebrated being, *I Saggi Politici*, by Mario Pagano, and *La Scienza della Legislazione*, by Gaetano Filangieri. The constitution of society was there explained, the rights of subjects and the prince defined, and it was hoped that the end of despotic rule and blind obedience was near at hand. The rhetorical style of these works, although unsuitable to the gravity of the subject, was attractive to the multitude, and therefore beneficial, because the arguments were addressed to the suffering and the hopeful. The authors were commended by all, and received rewards from the government; Pagano obtained a professorship in the university *degli studii*, and Filangieri was raised to a high magisterial place in the finances, and

received a pension, which relieved the honourable poverty of his family.

I have thus given a hasty sketch of the projects for the regeneration of the state, conceived by men of genius in Naples. But one fact must be noticed, which is as much to be lamented as true, that while the first germs of political virtue in our age, and in that of our fathers, sprang up in the soil of Naples, merit has always been treated there as a crime, and fame as infamy; and this injustice has been more frequently the act of their own countrymen than of foreign enemies. In no distant days from those of which I write, we shall find what was the miserable end of these very men, ordered by the government and approved by the people: for the noble ideas and wise laws here described did not emanate from the king, nor were they understood by the multitude (neither of them being capable of comprehending so high a degree of civilisation); but were conceived by a small band of philosophers, and only appreciated by the few; the vulgar, as usual, disliking anything which savoured of innovations, which the government, a few years later, punished as crimes.

Less wisdom was displayed in the management of other parts of the State economy: Naples, which had preceeded Tuscany in throwing off the yoke of the Church, saw herself surpassed by Pietro Leopoldo in administrative statutes. Although the municipalities were left free to settle their own affairs, and after an examination into their accounts, the unfaithful discharge of their duty was punished, and though the administrator, syndic, and auditors, were elected by the people in Parliament, nevertheless, these privileges were of little advantage, owing to disorders arising from the franchise itself, and even from the variety of minds and interests of the individuals who acted as administrators, and of the municipal officers, some of whom made their living out of the duties, some out of the customs, and others by the capitation tax. In one place, the money was devoted to the erection of public works, in another to charitable institutions; here the outlay was too niggardly, there it exceeded what was required; that which was approved one year was disapproved the next, and the projects of one set of men were overturned by another; unanimity and perseverance were wanting in the administration, and,



therefore, nothing great or stable was effected. The king once lent the commune of Pescotanza the money by which to purchase their freedom from the avaricious baron Pietro Enrico Piccolomini, the grant for the loan being thus worded: "To enable them to withdraw from the servitude of the baronial yoke:" but this solitary act, proceeding from a momentary impulse, was the sign, not the substance of prosperity.

The arts of life continued under the control of the guilds and consuls; internal traffic was hampered by the contributions for the *annone*<sup>1</sup> (public storehouses), and for the *assise*,<sup>2</sup> by the baronial privileges, by the franchises and immunities which remained to the clergy, and above all, by the continual interference of the government in private enterprise or interests. The cultivation of tobacco was again freed from duty, but at the cost of burdens being laid upon other articles, such as wine, salt, pepper, paper, and books. The manufacture of silk, which had increased during the reign of Charles, excited the cupidity of his successor, and by being included among the *arrendamenti*<sup>3</sup> for the exchequer, suffered from the conditions inseparable from a state of thralldom; first followed a diminished product, then the extirpation of the mulberry trees, and, lastly, the decline of the national manufactures of silk and silken stuffs. Any mariner who carried on a contraband trade in silk was punished by death, and the slightest violation of the law by flogging.

The rich coral trade likewise suffered. Torre del Greco, a beautiful city upon the sea-shore, at the foot of Vesuvius, contains a population of twelve thousand inhabitants, most of them mariners or merchants; because the land being covered with lava, or threatened by the neighbouring volcano, only affords a scanty and insecure support to the husbandman. Until the sixteenth century these mariners were in the habit of coral fishing in the seas of Corsica and Sardinia, but in 1780, venturing out still farther, they cruised along the coasts of Africa, well armed, and prepared for war; and took possession of a little uninhabited rock which lay about

<sup>1</sup> *Annone*. Every district was obliged to supply the public storehouses for the coming year, before being permitted to sell or export corn.

<sup>2</sup> *Assise*. A tax imposed by the syndic to meet communal expenses.

<sup>3</sup> *Arrendamenti*. See page 24.

twenty-four miles distant from the island of Gálita, and forty-three from the coast of Barbary. They called it Summo, after the seaman who first set foot there ; and finding the shore rich with corals, built huts for shelter, and threw up defences upon the wood-covered rock. They proceeded no farther during the two succeeding years, when, gaining courage, they attempted expeditions to more distant shores, and, facing the dangers of war and slavery from the tribes of Africa, were successful in their fisheries beyond Cape Negro, Cape Rosa, and Cape Bona. By this good fortune the trade increased so much, that six hundred large barks, carrying more than four hundred men, and of a size to resist tempests at sea, departed every April, and returned before the winter had set in. The city having thus grown in wealth, splendid edifices arose, for the inhabitants were indifferent to the dangers which threatened them from the neighbouring mountain, and, if the city happened to be destroyed by earthquakes, or to disappear under a stream of lava, another more highly ornamented and more beautiful than the former was built up in less than a year, and upon the same site, from the attachment the people bore to the soil, and from the sacred feeling to home.

The interests which sprung up from this coral fishery were so many, so vast, and so new, that the code did not contain laws sufficient to regulate the way in which it was to be conducted, and secure the ends of justice. On occasions small meetings were held, to consider some case of private interest, and were immediately dissolved, as the idea of acting for the common benefit had not entered the minds of the people, and one coral fisherman would often grow rich at the expense of his neighbour. Such malpractices where affairs of great moment were concerned, induced the formation of a larger society, which was, however, still only composed of volunteers, and, being without authority to control the public, could not supply all that was needed. The Government then stepped in to their assistance, and by means of laws, ordinances, and conferring the name of Company on the society, succeeded in regulating the departure and return of the vessels, the fisheries, the sale of the coral, the magistrates, officers, tribunals, and judicial sentences. So many were the laws thus dictated, that the book containing them was called "The Coral Code." The

company had its own banner, a tower between two branches of coral upon an azure shield, surmounted by three golden lilies. As long as the society had been independent, although constantly engaged in disputes, and committing acts of injustice, the trade prospered ; but when formed into a company with a code of laws, and when strife and injustice were at an end, their wealth declined ; for the society had been urged on by an indefatigable zeal in the pursuit of private gain, while the company acted with slow deliberation for the common benefit. The coral fishery continues to this day, but has ceased to prosper.

A good law was passed, by which waste land brought into cultivation was not obliged to pay the predial<sup>1</sup> taxes for twenty years ; and if planted with olives, for forty. By other laws the uninhabited islands of Ustica and Ventotene were colonized, and subsequently those of Tremiti and Lampadusa. The colonists of the two first, who were taken from poor but respectable families, were granted land and provisions for a certain time, besides instruments for agriculture and fishing. These colonies prospered, while the inhabitants of the other islands, which were colonized from the thieves and vagabonds of the kingdom, sent there by the hasty mandate of magistrates appointed by the king, soon died off. The Government then sent fresh colonists to supply their place, but in too great numbers, causing a decline in morals and industry. This same solicitude for the public welfare, induced the Government to divide the city into twelve *riione*,<sup>2</sup> and in each to establish a magistrate or guardian, who was empowered to imprison accused persons, for a short time, and more frequently to send them to confinement in the penal colonies. As long as these arbitrary sentences were only applied in the case of the lowest and most disreputable characters, the kingdom was relieved from many flagitious persons, and the city rejoiced in an improved state of things ; but it was not long before respectable citizens were sent to these islands without trial or proof against them, and only on suspicion of treason, condemned by the license usual to unbridled power, and simply because they were displeasing to despotism ; the city and kingdom were again plunged in grief and alarm.

<sup>1</sup> *Predial*, consisting of farms. The predial tithes were tithes paid on corn, grass, wood, &c. See *Blackstone*, vol. ii. p. 24.

<sup>2</sup> *Riione*. A ward or district.

A cemetery was walled in upon the spot called Pichiodi, and afterwards Santa Maria de Pianto ; it contained as many vaults as there were days in the year ; but the bodies of the poor alone were consigned to burial there, for the upper classes despising the place, interred their dead in the churches of the city. The architect Fuga designed the cemetery, which was completed in a single year, from money given in charity.

The most useful institution of the time was that for the royal archives, which was first conceived by Ferdinand of Arragon as early as 1477 ; Charles v. followed up the idea in 1533, and Philip III. in 1609 ; but the inconstancy of princes, or untoward circumstances, prevented the execution of their design, until the reign of Ferdinand of Bourbon, who completed the work in 1786. By ordering that deeds productive of claims of mortgage should be preserved in the archives and registered ; that property should be cleared, mortgages made certain, and the sale of inscribed property facilitated, creditors were secure of their rights, and debtors constrained to be responsible for promised payment. The system of mortgage which has been deservedly praised in the “Code Napoléon” was, at least in great part, laid down thirty years before in the royal archives of Ferdinand, though less extensive and explicit, and of no pecuniary advantage to the State ; whereas the French code is comprehensive, strictly defined, and profitable to the exchequer. By the archives containing the patrimony of every family, frauds are prevented, and litigation diminished ; the measure, therefore, was opposed by the lawyers, who were already influential in the reign of Charles, and had become still more so under his successor. Whether as ministers of the Crown, magistrates, or heads and officials employed in the archive itself, these men disturbed the effects of this wise law, which was, however, maintained in force by the unceasing cares of the Government ; and they thus deprived society of an essential benefit, by debts and claims returning to the old state of confusion.

Still more serious errors were committed in the conduct of the finances. During the reign of Charles, the treasure of Spain, the profits arising from the conquest, and afterwards from the peace, together with the parsimony of the rulers and the contentment of the people (released from the painful servitude they had endured

in the provinces), was helping to remove, or at least conceal, the poverty of the exchequer. The Concordat with Rome of 1741, produced some contribution to the taxes from the ecclesiastical property, and the census of the years immediately following, proved the existence of many towns which were now subjected to taxation, but which had formerly been exempt, because held as fiefs or belonging to the Church. The wealth accumulated during the reign of Charles, was consumed under his successor. The exchequer drew its supplies from three sources, donations, direct taxes, and indirect taxes. The system of donations had in former times been abused, because the easiest mode of raising money under a temporary government, but was rarely employed by Charles, and only twice during the reign of Ferdinand.

The direct taxes, assessed by the community, were paid according to the number of hearths in a district (a *fuoco* or fire signifying a family), some communities originally feudal, or at that time belonging to the Church, and others, privileged by grants from former kings, enjoyed entire or partial exemption from the common burdens. The allotment among the rate-paying communities was not according to the extent or fertility of the land, the skill or industry of the inhabitants, their success in commerce, or (to use a modern expression) to their real value, but according to a certain rule of population, laid down in 1737, which was rather nominal than real. By these errors, cities adjoining one another, might often be found, one rich in land and manufactures, and with superabundant wealth, the other poor in everything, yet the last paying more taxes than the first.

The method by which the taxes were levied was not less fallacious; they were divided under three heads; the capitation tax, that on manufactured goods, and the land tax. Ecclesiastics, barons, and those reputed noble, as doctors of philosophy, notaries, and all who subsisted without exercising a trade, swelled the respectable class of nobles, and were exempted from the two first; for these taxes relating to the number of heads, and to hand labour, were supposed to refer solely to the existence and toil of the poor. With regard to property, the feudal lands (sometimes wholly and sometimes in part) being free from taxation,—besides those belonging to the king, or the exchequer, the church lands, the patrimony

of the clergy, the property attached to seminaries, the lands of the parochial clergy and the hospitals,—a small number of unfortunate landowners bore the whole burden of the direct taxes, which amounted to 2,819,500 ducats annually, which was increased by another 290,000 ducats under the pretence of constructing new roads.

The indirect taxes included all which the subtle invention of the farmers of the public revenue had been able to devise for the benefit of the exchequer in every age and for every people. Skill, industry, provisions, recreations, vice and gambling, were all made profitable to the exchequer. They were called (as I have before stated) from the Spanish term, *Arrendamenti*; and were for the most part sold, or pawned for new debts, or given in security for old; in which case the purchasers or creditors were charged to levy the taxes, and even permitted to punish evasions according to the severe rules of the Government. They, therefore, exercised strict vigilance, stimulated by all the zeal of private avarice, and armed with the authority of public functionaries. The *Arrendamenti* thus yielded twice as much to the purchaser as to the exchequer, while the rate-payer had to pay three times the real amount of the taxes.

The king abolished several *arrendamenti*, that called *del minuto* (the excise), another levied upon the Capitano della Grascia, the chief magistrate of the markets,<sup>1</sup> those upon tobacco, manna, brandy, saffron, the tolls levied on foot-passengers, and in certain provinces, the duty upon silk; but in order not to deprive the treasury of sources of revenue, nor fail in the obligations entered into with the purchasers, new taxes, less oppressive to the people and more profitable to the finances, were laid on, and others increased. The following anecdote is characteristic of the times: The Government having become aware of the injury caused to the State by the *arrendamenti*, desired to buy back some of them; and when the assignees (such was the name given to the proprietors) refused their consent, the king decreed that the case should be laid before the law tribunals, and submitted to a fair and open

<sup>1</sup> *Chief magistrate of the markets.* Capitano della Grascia, a magistrate charged to superintend the markets, and see they

were well supplied. The office is now abolished.

trial. The question under consideration was, whether the exchequer might, upon equitable terms, redeem the *arrendamenti*, which had been transferred to other hands, and thus be enabled to change or reform the public finances, as the necessities of the State required. Among the judges was one Ferdinand Ambrosio, a cunning and avaricious man, who, when the sentence was about to be pronounced, finding that his colleagues meant to support the claims of the Government, entreated silence, and drawing forth a large crucifix from the folds of his gown, and assuming the tone and attitude of a missionary, addressed his audience in these words:—"Remember, gentlemen, we must die; that the soul alone is immortal; that this God (pointing to the crucifix) will punish us for having preferred ambition to justice; therefore I vote for the assignees." His vote, however, being unjust, was not seconded, and it was besides known that a relative of the pious orator was among those opposed to the Government; the *arrendamento* of salt therefore was redeemed. In spite of the disordered state of the internal administration, it contributed annually 14,400,000 ducats to the revenue; yet the barons, although they possessed more than half the land of the kingdom, paid only 268,000 ducats out of this large sum.

Feudalism, which had been only slightly depressed during the reign of Charles, daily gained in material advantages under Ferdinand, assisted by the labours of the lawyers, who, while they were eager to diminish the extent and power of the feudal jurisdictions, in order to add them to those of the law, were equally anxious to increase the wealth of the feudal proprietors, that they might share in it themselves. They found a powerful support in the Government, which was as desirous as they were to put an end to the *mero e misto* jurisdiction, as well as in the king, who, by habits, attachments, and the instinct of royalty, favoured the barons. Many pragmatic sanctions or charters of this period, therefore, are in existence, intended to repress the baronial jurisdiction, while, beside them, are others maintaining their privileges and diminishing their taxes. The heaviest duties imposed upon the barons for the *Adoa* and the *Rilevio*,<sup>1</sup> as they were termed,

<sup>1</sup> *Adoa*. A compensation paid by the feudal lords to the king in lieu of military service. The payment was annual, and introduced chiefly in the fifteenth century

were seven per cent. on their revenues, whereas the most favoured citizens had to pay twenty per cent., most of them thirty, some forty or fifty, while others had to pay even sixty; the feudal tithes, forced labour, and all the abuses called rights, continued; so that feudal districts could be distinguished at first sight by the poverty of the houses, the squalid appearance of the inhabitants, and the want of those comforts and embellishments usually found in cities; there were none of the signs of civilisation, neither an exchange, court of law, nor theatre, while the marks of tyranny and bondage were many; castles, spacious dungeons, monasteries, or the dwellings of extinct bishoprics, with a few other large and fortified palaces of the nobles, were scattered here and there amidst heaps of ruins and cottages. The eminent historian, Giuseppe Maria Galanti, hardly ventured to state the almost incredible fact, that in the fief of San Gennaro di Palma, at a distance of only fifteen miles (five leagues) from Naples, visited by him in 1789, the only persons inhabiting houses were the agents of the baron, and that the people, 10,000 human beings, were seeking shelter from the inclemency of the season like beasts, under hurdles or straw-ricks, and in caves. Such was the condition of the fiefs, and yet in a kingdom numbering 2765 cities, towns, or inhabited places, all but fifty were, in 1734, under feudal dominion, and all but 200 in 1789. Happily the feudal lords, improved by living in a more civilized age, were then ashamed of the worst abuses of their power.

The above-mentioned laws, relating to the economy of the State, were all that occurred worthy of note during thirty years. The administration and the finances continued barbarous and servile as in the time of Charles, for we did not profit by the examples set us by other kingdoms, or even by our neighbour Tuscany, the native land of Tanucci, and where Pietro Leopoldo had proclaimed the enfranchisement of property, the division of land, the abolition of predial servitude, and (his true glory) commercial freedom. Everything, however, relating to trials, magistrates, and judicial matters, was better

under Ferdinand the Catholic; it had become so common in Naples, that a regular registry, called the *Cedolaris*, was formed, in which the *Adoa* each feudal lord was

bound to pay, was entered, and formed part of the public revenue.—*Rilevio*, the fine paid on succeeding to a property by the death of the former proprietor.



provided for in Naples. The jurisdiction of the barons, and the number of their armed retainers, was limited by new enactments, and the power of the Crown and the commons increased in proportion, but with them likewise the authority of the courts of law, where the utmost effrontery was displayed in dishonest dealings, dangerous to the State. Several ordinances were passed intended to curb their vices, by obliging lawyers to undergo a prescribed course of study, examination, and discipline ; their rapacity was checked by a tariff, and their perfidy by threats of punishment, in which they were stigmatized as cavillers and ignorant and unmannered persons. Nevertheless their old habits prevailed, and the profession of the law was swelled by men of every condition in life, the lawyer's gown being worn even by the lowest of the people.

Marriages were wisely regulated by new laws, which, while strengthening the paternal authority, and making promises and vows invalid, even though taken before the priest or at the altar, put an end to female artifice, elopements, and unequal alliances, to the advantage of morals and domestic peace. A more important statute regulated the forms of judicial sentences. As the magistrates in our country hold a position among the first or the most influential orders of the State, persons occupying that office, while delivering sentence, despising the usual forms and simple mode of explanation, assumed a style of authority and command ; by which assumption of dignity, some of the judges concealed their ignorance, others their love of power, whilst all approved a practice by which their decisions were nothing more nor less than intimations of their supreme will and despotic power. But as men degraded by servitude find it more troublesome to think than to obey, the people submitted quietly, until, under the better government of the two Bourbons, and by the general progress of intelligence, their minds were directed to the subject, when they could no longer tolerate this state of matters, declaring, that under the pretence of brevity, the judges masked injustice, venality, and ambition. A new law was passed to soothe the apprehensions of the people, by which the magistrates were instructed to state the reasons for their decisions, and, if a law were wanting in the code, to demand it of the king, and, wherever a doubt existed, to refer to him for explanation.

The magistrates rebelled against this decree, declaring that their dignity was offended, as well as their independence as judges. Under the first feeling of excitement, they proposed to refuse obedience, to oppose the measure, and resign their offices ; but reflecting afterwards, that by reclamations and intrigues, they might obtain the repeal of the obnoxious law, they reserved extreme measures for an extreme case, and resolved to prove their rights by demonstration. The immense body of lawyers, either from ignorance, adulation, or a love of controversy, took the side of the judges, and increased the outcry.

The Supreme Council, or the first court of magistrature, was divided into four sessions called *Ruote* ; and whenever, from the importance or doubtful nature of a case, all met together, so much wisdom was supposed to be collected in the congress, that their decisions had the force of law. In the present instance, the council, in a congregation of the four *Ruote*, drew up, for the information of the prince, a bold statement of the errors and mischievous tendencies of the new statute, which they afterwards published. The wisdom of the decree was, however, supported by men of the greatest learning. It was now that Gaetano Filangieri, who had not yet completed his twenty-second year, appeared for the first time before the public, in a work entitled, *Riflessioni politiche sulla legge del 23 di Settembre del 1774* (Reflections upon the political consequences of the law of the 23d September 1774), in which he proved that, as the liberty of the citizen and the power of the monarchy resided in an exact execution of the laws, the arbitrary decisions of the magistrates were both tyranny towards the people, and rebellion towards the sovereign. The work was well received, and proved a harbinger of future glory to the young author. The king replied to the council by an edict, in which he declared, "Equity required of the magistrate that justice should be plain spoken, and not, as the supreme council pretended, concealed under an oracular veil ; that it belonged to the sovereign to create new laws, or to explain the obscure meaning of the old, and to the judges to execute them ; that the decisions of learned doctors, and the clauses added by commentators, were intended for the study of the judges, and were not the laws which were contained in the Pragmatic Sanctions."

The edict proceeded to reject the exceptions proposed, and to censure any delay in the fulfilment of the decree, concluding nearly in these words: "In consideration of human frailty and the usages of the supreme council, the king pardons the sophisms invented and put forth in their publication; and he hopes that by their obedience the magistrates may arrest and disarm the hand of justice, inseparable from majesty." The law tribunals were silenced by the menacing style of this edict; and the terrified lawyers declared themselves convinced. None of the magistrates resigned their offices, nor did they resort to any of the extreme measures by which, when first discomfited, they proposed to save their dignity; and from that day forth they announced the reasons for their judicial sentences, and public justice was more fairly administered.

By an ancient pragmatic sanction of the Arragonese princes, the office of syndic had been introduced into the kingdom, to examine into the administration of the public money, and the conduct of the magistrates. This office was filled in the metropolis by the *eletti* of the market-place; in other cities or towns by citizens chosen by the people in parliament. The examination of the public officers before the syndic lasted forty days in every year; twenty were assigned to receive the accusations, and twenty for the discussion, during which time the officer on trial was deprived of his employment and authority. Every man, even from the lowest of the populace, was allowed to accuse him of injustice, or of justice refused. If no charge could be substantiated against him, he received letters-patent approving his conduct; if considered guilty, a trial was opened for his condemnation. The kings who succeeded those of the house of Arragon, allowed these ordinances to fall into disuse; but they were subsequently revived by Charles of Bourbon, and added to by Ferdinand, but without any advantage being obtained, since the other parts of the government, and the habits of the people, were not on a par with this institution; and the fear lest the accused should shortly regain his authority, often closed the lips of the injured against a dishonest judge; while private revenge would as often bring a just judge into trouble, only because he had been instrumental in punishing those in power.

The trials for criminal offences continued the same as during

the reign of Charles : courts of secret inquiry, *Scrivani*, employed for this purpose ; the accused subjected to torture and other sufferings ; the judges using no criterion but their own arbitrament, and even the power of objecting to them, which had been formerly permitted, now revoked by a new law. The trial by *Truglio*<sup>1</sup> was continued, and even increased in frequency, and in a worse form, because the wishes of the accused persons were not consulted, nor their consent made necessary. By a barbarous law, the class of thieves called *Saccolari* (pickpockets) were punished by torture, *upon proofs which only amounted to suspicion, produced by secret inquiry, although incomplete, and the accused unheard and undefended.* A still harsher law prescribed the respect to be paid to the royal palaces, in which were included all the king's houses, the villas, country or hunting seats, with the porticos, courts, and offices of these same buildings, even when not inhabited by the king ; and capital punishment was decreed to whomsoever should brandish a weapon within these precincts. By another law, the Society of Freemasons, as they were termed in the edict, were punished, and were placed on an equal footing with those guilty of high treason, and therefore rendered amenable to the tribunal of State, to be tried *ad modum belli* ; and the punishment, though not stated, was, by the nature of the crime as defined, death. Shortly afterwards, a new law classed all other secret societies with that of the Freemasons, as dangerous to the tranquillity of the State, and to the authority of the sovereign. To read the works of Voltaire subjected the reader to a penalty of three years in the galleys, and the *Gazzette* of Florence to six months' imprisonment. Flogging, which had been less frequently used before trial, became a more common mode of punishment.

A new court of magistrates was instituted, under the name of Udienza Generale di Guerra e Casa Reale (general tribunal of war and the royal household), for cases of criminal and civil law, in which military men and those privileged to appear only before special tribunals, were implicated ; and thus the powers of military jurisdiction were extended and became permanent. A general was placed at the head, and four magistrates acted as judges. The

<sup>1</sup> *Trial by Truglio.* A mode of trial by which the prisoners were judged and condemned in a body, without any separate examination.

forms were brief, and the sentences without appeal. The jurisdiction extending from persons to places, another decree established that all crimes or disputes arising between the inhabitants of certain houses, or in certain streets of the city, should be laid before the *Udienza Generale di Guerra*. The territory thus privileged in Naples alone, included a full twentieth part of the city, and contained not less than thirty thousand inhabitants. The precedent was followed throughout the kingdom; and every fortress, castle, or military edifice, included a certain district and number of inhabitants in the vicinity not amenable to the civil jurisdiction. These encroachments on the civil judicature rapidly increased, and it was next decreed that no tribunal could try misdeeds or interfere in the affairs of officials under the Secretary of State, as the king alone could decide the merits of the case. This despotic law was proposed by the Marquis Tanucci, to favour one of his subordinates in a civil suit.

Amidst so many political errors, the amount and enormity of crime increased. A proclamation of the king against malefactors ran thus:—"Robberies upon the highway and in the country are so frequent, as well as assassinations, rapine, and other heinous offences, that security of traffic is at an end, and the harvests are interrupted." Magistrates and soldiers were commanded to arrest or put to death the disturbers of the public peace; and merchants and travellers were advised to perform their journeys armed and in caravans. Brigadier Selaylos was sent with gendarmes into the provinces, with absolute power for the extermination of malefactors; while these last were meantime invited to submit, and promised oblivion of the past and pardon,—a clemency which did not proceed from humanity on the part of the Government, nor was accepted because those guilty of crime repented their misdeeds, but was a hollow and temporary pacification, to which necessity obliged both the Government and the offenders to submit. The remission of crime and punishment on the occasions of any happy event in the palace, such as a marriage or birth, helped to demoralize the people; they were so frequent, that nineteen may be reckoned in the thirty years recounted in this book; so that the Neapolitans may be said to have moved in a perpetual round of crimes, barbarous punishments, and impunity, followed by worse crimes.

The enactments for the regulation of commerce were admirable ; and after Ferdinand had added new statutes to the statutes of his father, he ordered that they should be registered in a book, entitled, *The Commercial Code*. This work, completed by the labours of Michele Iorio, and published in four volumes, but not authorized by the king, and forgotten during the agitations at home and abroad which immediately followed, remains a document of good intentions, or is used as a guide in commercial transactions. The admiralty court was instituted to decide specially in commercial cases, and in all relating to mercantile and naval affairs, under the control of the supreme tribunal of commerce appointed by Charles. The punishments instituted against fraudulent bankruptcies were revived, and were so severe, that I read with horror in the pragmatic sanctions of the day, one which ordered the mutilation of the offender.

A duke of a high family, and among the leaders in the court circle, happening to owe for a bill of exchange, endeavoured, under the shadow of his name, to shelter himself from payment, and the punishments consequent on failure ; but, accused before the king, he was obliged to submit to the common rule, Ferdinand declaring, that neither exalted rank, nor purity of blood, nor the dignified position of a magistrate, should save the debtor who had incurred an obligation upon letters of exchange. By another law, the exchange was founded, and it was determined that the bills with foreign nations should be made directly from Naples, and not, as heretofore, through the intermediate cities of Rome, Leghorn, Genoa, and Venice. After these rules had been laid down for the regulation of commerce, the king proceeded to confirm former treaties of navigation, and to enact new : first, with the government of Tripoli, in August 1785, on equal terms for the merchants, but more honourable for the king than the barbarians, who acknowledged his superior dignity and power,—it was reserved to a more unhappy period for the Neapolitan monarchy to fall so low as to bow before the people of Tripoli ; secondly, with Sardinia, in June 1786 ; thirdly, with the Republic of Genoa, in the same year and month ; fourthly, with Russia, in May 1787, with whom he not only stipulated for commercial advantages, but in case of war, for reciprocal neutrality, according to the laws of nations.

In every part of the administration, good statutes might be found side by side with bad ; but the first were more numerous than the last : the army alone, by the natural decay of everything which is neglected, degenerated from year to year. The possibility of war was forgotten, as the last ended in 1744, and men had since enjoyed peace, until it had become a second nature. Under the bright and voluptuous skies of Naples, and with a fruitful soil, the inhabitants were like the climate ; the king was addicted to pleasures, while his ministers were only eager in their endeavours to promote civil institutions and ease ; the body of lawyers were hostile to everything warlike ; and the queen herself, though covetous of fame and power, was negligent of the army, because at that time useless for the purposes of ambition ; the regiments formed by Charles were already enfeebled by age, the walls of the fortresses lay in ruins, and the arsenals were empty ; military science, arts, order, and habits, therefore, were alike forgotten.

The king, when a child, had formed a battalion which he had named the Liparotti ; and whom, as a boyish amusement, he had trained in the use of arms. He afterwards founded the military college for cadets, but under regulations compiled by officers who were neither learned in their profession nor experienced in war. He next raised 14,000 militia by conscription in the kingdom of Naples alone, from the most abject classes of society ; to prove which, it is sufficient to mention, that barons, nobles, doctors, men holding any property, and those exercising professions or trades were exempted from serving, whilst the most degraded of the citizens were accepted, and with reason, as the military formed the lowest order in the state. Criminals, and those guilty of the most infamous deeds, were often condemned to military service ; and still more frequently, galley-slaves and men taken from the prisons were converted into soldiers. Such was the military condition of the country in the year 1780, when, owing to events which I shall shortly relate, an army was raised.

## CHAPTER III.

## CONTINUATION OF THE REIGN OF FERDINAND.

THE queen having given birth to a prince, claimed, as had been stipulated in her marriage-contract, admission and a vote in the councils of state. The king offered no opposition to her desire, but the minister Tanucci, who feared her talents and arrogance, as well as that of her family, first secretly placed obstacles in her way, and then openly attempted to frustrate her designs. She conquered, and the minister was dismissed. No king banished from his kingdom could more bitterly lament and complain of his loss, than Tanucci, at being forced to resign the ministerial office; the neglect of those he thought his friends, the disrespect shown him by his inferiors, his deserted rooms, the change of scene upon the fall of his power, all the display of those vices which are inherent in human nature, were by him attributed to the surprising corruption of the time; and to escape the hated sight of man, he retired into the country, where he ended his days. Minister to the king of Naples from 1734, he was dismissed from office in the year 1777, and after ruling the state with princely power for forty-three years, he died in 1783, in comparative poverty, and without children, leaving an aged wife and a fair reputation.

The fall of Tanucci confirmed the opinion of the power of the queen, both in the minds of the people, and in the councils of state. In the bloom of youth, only twenty-five years of age, blessed with many children, beautiful, proud by nature, and still more proud from the greatness of her family, she found it easy to rule her husband, who was wholly absorbed in sensual pleasures. She changed all the foreign relations, broke off their connexions with Spain, and leaned more towards England than France. The Marquis della Sambuca, a favourite at the Court of Vienna, when ambassa-



dor there, was, through her means, appointed minister in place of Tanucci. On his arrival in Naples, he supported her in her laudable schemes for the welfare of the people; as, following the example of her brothers, she was desirous of gaining the approbation of the *savans*, and, therefore, proposed to introduce reforms into the kingdom. Thus, having become the centre on whom rested the hopes of the great, the ambitious, and the patriotic, she felt conscious of her power, and was elated by her success.

This change of policy, which made the kingdom more independent, at the same time roused the pride of the Government; and, no longer dwelling under the shadow of foreign potentates, it became necessary for the king to provide for the safety of his dominions. Ruling over a kingdom coveted by many, and abounding in wealth, yet with a diminished army and navy, he was exposed to danger in the first war; the long line of coast was unprotected, and commerce, which was now so widely spread, depended on the vacillating faith of treaties, and on the hollow promises of the people of Barbary. Both ships and soldiers were wanting, but as no native Neapolitan could be found thoroughly versed in military matters, the king sought a general for the army among the Austrians, and looked elsewhere for an admiral, who should neither be a Spaniard nor a Frenchman; all these subjects were discussed by men of high consideration and talents in the private coteries of the queen; some of whom were admitted there for the support they gave her secret wishes in the royal councils, or for proposing them as their own, and others because they circulated, or gave the authority of their names, to the acts and edicts of the Government. On one occasion, the Prince of Caramanico, the intimate friend and reputed favourite of the queen, proposed that Sir John Acton, an Englishman by birth, at that time in the service of Tuscany, should be appointed admiral of the Neapolitan fleet: He had been covered with glory in a late enterprise against Algiers, and was said to be well versed in nautical matters, as well as in military science; besides being a man of bold and energetic character. The Marquis della Sambuca seconded the proposal, because eager to increase his fortune rapidly, and aware that his favour with both sovereigns was on the decline, he was ready to flatter the views of those in power. As the opinion of Caramanico

met with no opposition, and received the consent of the queen, and soon afterwards of the king, the cavaliere Gatti was sent to Florence to obtain the permission of the Grand Duke Leopold to engage the services of the new admiral. Acton was thus brought to Naples in 1779, and was well received by the queen and king, praised by the great, and appointed head of the marine department.

From causes above stated, the finances of the State were declining; the former taxes were insufficient to meet the increased expenditure of the palace, while to add new, besides appearing too heavy an imposition in times of peace, would have been more than the people could have borne. As the Marquis Caracciolo, ambassador to France, was reputed an authority in the science of political economy, he was appointed minister in place of Sambuca, and it was thought that he would restore the administration of the interior without the irksome retrenchment which had been timidly hinted at in the councils of state; in this confidence, the extravagance of the king, the prodigality of the queen, the luxury of the palace, and the embarrassments of the exchequer, were in no way diminished. But the Marquis Caracciolo, though a scholar and philosopher in his day, was now enfeebled in courage and intellect by the advance of age; and, while he perceived the errors in the administration, he felt, from the shortness of life and his failing strength, his own inability to apply a remedy; the favour enjoyed by Caramanico, and the rising power of Acton, excited neither his jealousy nor anger, for he only wished to enjoy in repose, past honours and present ease. The weakness of the minister, as usual in a despotic government, infected all members of the State, and opened an easy way to the realization of Acton's hopes.

When the Court of Rome saw Naples governed by a minister too feeble to dispute her power, she proposed a new Concordat; and the offer being accepted, sent Monsignor Caleppi to advance her bold and extravagant claims. But though twenty-two points were conceded, a controversy arose touching the Court of Nunciature and the election of bishops. The Pope aimed at a separate jurisdiction for the nuncios, besides armed retainers, and dungeons at their disposal; and proposed that the prelates, though named by the king, should be recognised at Rome as *worthy* and

*acceptable by the decision, or at least by the spiritual approbation of the pontiff*—one of many formulas by which the tyranny of the Popes had been exercised for centuries ; and it was therefore rejected. The dispute was dragged on to so weary a length, that the congress was broken up, and Caleppi, the nuncio and the ambassador, dismissed the kingdom. The last glory of the Minister Tanucci had been the abolition of the *Chinea* ; the last of Caracciolo was his resistance to the Court of Rome in the instance just mentioned. Such were the bold struggles for freedom and such the genius of the age. Whilst these disputes were still pending, it was remembered to the honour of the minister, that when viceroy of Sicily, he had banished the Holy Office, and had approved the conduct of the citizens of Palermo, who, when prevented destroying the palace of the Inquisition, had broken the marble statue of St. Dominick in pieces, and scattered the fragments ; burnt the archives, and, throwing open the doors of the dungeons, had led forth in triumph the unhappy victims confined there. In the midst of these transactions the most daring and implacable spirits were the old, the grey-headed, and those bent with the weight of years, who, remembering the *auto-da-fé* of 1724, had excited the frenzy of the young by repeating the story of the sufferings of Gertrude and Brother Romualdo, recorded in the first book of this history. Thus, praised by the world, and full of years, died the Minister Caracciolo.

Fortune proved propitious to the ambitious schemes of Sir John Acton. He was Minister of Marine during the lifetime of Caracciolo, and, gaining the favour of the queen, while accommodating his views to the genius of the age and the spirit of the government, became popular at Court. He was soon afterwards appointed to the Ministry of War, and, at the death of Caracciolo, was intrusted with that of foreign affairs. Crafty by nature, and accustomed to deal with the passions of men, he feared a rival in Caramanico, who had not yet wholly forfeited the royal favour, and that by his vicinity to the palace, the associations and memories of the past might be maintained ; he, therefore, contrived to have him sent as ambassador, first to London and then to Paris, and, finally, appointed viceroy of Sicily. Fearing public opinion, however, and anxious to obtain the suffrage of the people, Acton courted the men who were most

esteemed in the kingdom, expressed himself averse to feudal privileges, blamed the indolent lives of the nobles, and introduced normal schools, establishing them in all parts of the country; he furthered the interests of commerce by restoring the ports of Misenò, Brindisi, and Baia, by designing many highways and roads through the provinces, and by proclaiming religious toleration in Brindisi and Messina. The circumstance of his being a foreigner did not deprive him of the respect of the Neapolitans, too much accustomed to this infliction; and the absence of persons fitted for the office of minister, or ambitious of that honour, saved him from enemies of any importance, and removed obstacles from his path. While avoiding the responsibility of the public purse, he yet feared that some one minister, deriving importance from the present emergency, should supersede him in power and favour; and, therefore, he caused the office of Minister of Finance to be abolished, and confided the management of these affairs to a council, because by thus dividing the merit and the praise due to success among thirteen councillors, no one individual could attain celebrity. The remaining offices of government, those of Justice, Divine worship, and the head of the administrations, were given to lawyers; Carlo de Marco, Ferdinando Corradini, and Saverio Simonetti, bore the title of ministers, but were in fact all subordinate to Sir John Acton, who, by his office, by court favour, and by the servility of those who surrounded him, was considered, and was in reality, the prime and sole minister, as powerful as the king, but more respected and feared than Ferdinand, who was thoughtlessly degrading his royal dignity by plunging into the most sensual pleasures.

Sir John Acton was created a field-marshal, and from that day assumed the title of general, which he kept until his death; he was next made lieutenant-general, afterwards captain-general, and, decorated with all the orders of chivalry in the kingdom; he received several foreign distinctions, and, among others, was made an English nobleman for his services rendered to England as minister of Naples,<sup>1</sup> and acquired unbounded wealth. Endowed by nature with a robust constitution, and fine person, there was no gift of fortune which he need have coveted, yet he was often melancholy

<sup>1</sup> He became a baronet in 1791 by succeeding to the family title on the death of his cousin (in the third degree), Sir Richard Acton, of Aldenham Hall, Shropshire.

(as I have been told by one of his family), and was apt to indulge in imaginary grief.

He undertook to form a navy and army. As only a sufficient number of vessels were needed to defend the coast, and overawe the petty sovereigns of Barbary, too small a navy or too large was, for opposite reasons, equally prejudicial to the country; but to satisfy the queen and the vanity of the minister, a great many ships of the line were built, besides frigates and other vessels which, while far exceeding what was necessary for the protection of commerce, carried off seamen better qualified for trading vessels: besides which the exchequer was drained by this useless expense, and new reasons for alliances and hostilities with foreign nations arose, into which we were prematurely forced, by our recently acquired power at sea. Our land forces being nominally thirty thousand, but in reality fourteen thousand soldiers, the first idea of the minister was to recompose the regiments, so that the army should be again complete. For this end a new law was passed by which the commons were obliged to furnish a considerable body of infantry, and the barons cavalry and horses. This contingent included volunteers, debtors, vagabonds, and men taken from the prisons and galleys. Baron Salis, from the Grisons, was invited to train the new levies, and Colonel Pomereul, a Frenchman, well known in his native country for his talents and services, to form the corps of artillery. Many foreign officers and serjeants, either invited or brought thither by Salis and Pomereul, joined their ranks; among them was serjeant Pierre Augereau, destined some years later, when general of the French Republic, marshal of the empire, and Duke of Castiglione, to fill many a page in history; and lieutenant Jean Baptiste Eblè, afterwards first general of artillery in France, who shared in many victories, and died in battle in 1812; happy in not living to behold a change of standard.

This levy was looked upon with dislike by the degenerate populace of Naples, while the discipline, habits, and orders in a foreign language were equally adverse to the feelings of the soldiers, and still more so to their superior officers, who concealed their ambition for command, under zeal for the honour of their country; a foolish pride, since they had none of the habits of military life, and were sunk

in the corruptions of an idle city. The discontent at length became so loud, that the government, fearing a dangerous mutiny, dismissed Salis and the rest of the foreign officers, with the exception of Pomereul, who, being only employed for a small part of the army, and acting with officers who were less ignorant than the others, had not excited the opposition and enmity of the multitude. The consequence was, that while the artillery improved, the rest of the army degenerated. About this time commenced the hatred the people bore Acton and the queen, while their attachment to the king increased, as it was believed (as was really the case) that he was averse to these innovations, although they were issued in his name, out of compliance to the will of his wife and minister.

Fame having spread the news of the increased power of the kingdom, the Bourbons of France and Spain desired to form a closer alliance with the king of the Sicilies; but the disposition and views of the Court having undergone a change, they met with cold replies, and, finally, repulses. Upon this, Charles III., writing to his son, as a king, father, and benefactor, advised him to dismiss his ill-chosen favourite, Sir John Acton, from the ministry and from his kingdom: his advice was not listened to; and soon afterwards when he offered to allow two Neapolitan men-of-war, and as many merchant vessels as the king pleased to send, to join the Spanish flotilla bound for America, this offer (in many respects so advantageous) was rejected. Wood for ship-building was refused to France, although it had been sold to her from the earliest period at a high price, and abounded in the forests of Calabria. All manner of incivility was displayed towards those sovereigns who were allied in blood, while every courtesy was shown towards the monarchs of Austria and England. Louis xv. was, therefore, ill-disposed towards the Court of Naples, and Louis xvi., after all hope of a friendly understanding had failed, was converted into an enemy: even Charles III. died displeased with his son.

The order of time has brought me to the year 1783, when a violent earthquake overthrew many cities, and altered the surface of a vast extent of land in Calabria and Sicily, causing the death of men and cattle, and a universal panic throughout both kingdoms. On Wednesday, the 5th February, about an hour past mid-day, the land of that part of Calabria which lies between the

rivers Gallico and Mótamo, from Mounts Jeio, Sagra, Caulone, and the shore, and from betwixt these rivers to the Tyrrhenean sea, was convulsed. This district is called the Piana, because the country at the foot of the last of the Apennines stretches out into a plain, twenty-eight Italian miles in length, and eighteen in breadth. The earthquake lasted a hundred seconds: it was felt as far as Otranto, Palermo, Lipari, and the other Æolian islands; only slightly in Puglia and the Terra di Lavoro, and neither affected the city of Naples nor the Abruzzi. A hundred and nine cities and villages with a population of 166,000 inhabitants covered the Piana: and in less than two minutes all these buildings fell, causing the deaths of 32,000 human beings of every age, men and women, more of whom were wealthy and of noble birth than poor or plebeian: for no human power could avert this sudden destruction.

The soil of the Piana, composed of granite rock wherever the spurs of the mountains are prolonged, or of various earths brought down by the waters which descend from the Apennines, varies from place to place, in consistency, power of resistance, weight, and form. Whatever, therefore, may have been the origin of the earthquake, whether volcanic, as stated by some authorities, or electric, according to others, the movement was in every direction; vertical, oscillatory, horizontal, rotatory, and vibrating; and it was observed that the causes of destruction were often different and produced opposite results. One half of a city or of a house sunk while the other was upraised; trees were swallowed by the earth to their very topmost branches, beside other trees which had been torn up by the roots and capsized; a mountain burst and fell to the right and left of its former site, while the summit disappeared, and was lost in the bottom of a newly-formed valley; some of the hills were seen to become valleys, while the sides of others became rugged and steep; the buildings upon them moving with the land, generally falling in ruins, but sometimes remaining uninjured, and the inhabitants not even disturbed in their sleep. The fissures in the ground in many places formed large gulfs, and soon afterwards mounds were thrown up; the waters, either gathered in hollow basins, or escaping from their beds, changed their course and condition; rivers met and formed a lake, or expanded into marshes, or disappeared altogether, and burst out anew as rivers flowing

between new banks and laying the most fertile fields bare and sterile. Nothing retained its ancient form. Every trace of towns, cities, and roads had vanished, so that the inhabitants wandered about in a state of stupefaction as in a remote and desert region : so many works of man and nature, the labour of centuries, besides rivers or rocks, perhaps as ancient as the world, had been changed in a single moment. The Piana was thus the centre of the first earthquake, but from the change in the whole surface of the ground here described, sometimes villages at a distance were more injured than those close at hand.

At midnight of the same day there was a second shock, as violent, but not so destructive as the first ; for the people, warned of the danger, and already houseless, and without the means of shelter, were standing in the open air, stunned and desponding. The noble cities of Messina and Reggio, however, and all that part of Sicily called the Valdémone, suffered more from this second shock than from the first. Messina in that year, 1783, had not yet fully recovered from the damage caused by the earthquake of 1744, so that the present earthquake, by shaking buildings and land which had already been injured, overthrew everything, and thus new ruins were heaped upon the old. The shocks continued, until the land itself was subverted, and men and things which had been engulfed days before, were often again uncovered. The high chain of the Apennines, and the great mountains upon which are situated Nicotéra and Monteleone, resisted for a considerable time, and though cracks might be seen in some of the buildings, they were neither thrown down nor moved from their original sites, and the earth beneath them had not yet been convulsed. But on the 28th day of March of that same year, in the second hour of the night, there was heard a hollow rumbling noise, loud and prolonged ; and soon afterwards a great movement of the earth was felt, in the space lying between the Capes Vaticano, Sùvero, Stilo, and Colonna, at least 1200 square miles, which was only the centre of the shock, for the concussion reached the most distant confines of Calabria Citra, and was perceptible throughout the kingdom and in Sicily. It lasted ninety seconds, and caused the deaths of upwards of two thousand human beings. Seventeen cities were entirely destroyed in the same manner as the hundred and nine



cities of the Piana ; twenty-one, besides, were partly laid in ruins and partly injured ; more than a hundred small villages were submerged or tottering ; and that which was standing upright one day, was the next thrown down ; the shocks continued with the same violence and destructive force for seven months, until August of that year, a time which seemed like eternity, because measured by seconds.

Whirlwinds, tempests, volcanic fires and conflagrations, rain, wind, and thunder, accompanied the earthquakes ; all the powers of nature were shaken : it seemed as if her bonds were loosened, and that the hour had arrived for the commencement of the new era. In the night of the 5th February, whilst the earth was still convulsed, a meteor burst and swept away the highest part of several buildings ; a bell-tower in Messina had the top carried off, an ancient tower in Radicena was cut across above the base, and a heap of rubbish (so massive as to contain part of the staircase) remains still in the place where it was thrown, and is pointed out as a curiosity to the stranger. Many roofs and cornices, instead of falling upon the ruins of the buildings to which they belonged, were carried away by the whirlwinds, and fell in distant places. Meantime the sea between Charybdis and Scylla, and along the coast, near Reggio and Messina, was raised several braccia,<sup>1</sup> invaded the shores, and in retreating to its own bed, swept away with it men and cattle. Thus perished about two thousand persons in Scylla alone, all of whom had fled to the sandy beach, or had taken refuge in boats to escape the dangers of the land. The prince of Scylla, who was amongst them, disappeared in a moment, and neither the efforts of his servants and relatives, nor the promise of ample rewards, could lead to the discovery of the body, which they wished to honour with a tomb. Etna and Stromboli emitted a larger quantity of lava and inflamed matter than usual,<sup>2</sup> but this calamity did not excite much attention at the time, from being far the least disaster. Vesuvius remained quiet. Conflagrations, worse than any fire from the volcano, were the consequence

<sup>1</sup> More than twenty feet. See Lyell's *Principles of Geology*, p. 418.

<sup>2</sup> The great crater of Etna is said to have given out a considerable quantity of

vapour towards the beginning, and Stromboli towards the close of the commotions. —Lyell's *Principles of Geology*, p. 488.

of the earthquake ; for in the fall of the houses, the beams came in contact with the burning stoves, and the flames, fanned by the wind, spread so vast a fire around, that it appeared to issue from the bosom of the earth, which gave rise to false stories and the belief in subterranean heat. This was confirmed by the loud noise and rumbling sound like thunder which was sometimes heard preceding and sometimes accompanying the shocks, but more frequently alone and very terrific. The sky was cloudy yet serene, rain falling, the weather variable, and there was no sign of the approaching earthquake ; the indications observed one day were missing on the morrow, and others were discovered, until it was found that the earth shook under every aspect of the heavens. A new calamity appeared ; a thick cloud, which dimmed the light of day, and increased the intense darkness of night, which was pungent to the eyes, oppressive to the breath, fetid and motionless, hung upon the atmosphere of Calabria for more than twenty days, and was followed by melancholy, disease, and shortness of breath, felt by man and beast.

I must now turn to a still more tragical part of the history ; the misery endured by the inhabitants of this region. All who were within their houses on the Piana, at the first earthquake of the 5th February, perished, with the exception of those who remained half alive under the casual shelter of beams, or other parts of buildings, which happened to fall in an arch over them ; they were fortunate, if disinterred while still living, but their fate was dreadful when left to die there of starvation. Those who chanced to be in the open air were saved, though not even all of them ; for some were carried down in the gulfs which opened beneath their feet, others swept off by the waves of the sea as they returned, and others struck by materials blown along with violence by the whirlwind ; but more miserable than any, were those who remained spectators of the ruin of their houses, underneath which lay buried a wife, a father, or children. As some years later I conversed with eye-witnesses of this catastrophe, and with men and women who had been dug out of the ruins, I am able, as far as relates to the feelings and character then exhibited, to delineate the moral effects of the earthquake of Calabria ; a more difficult task than the description of its physical aspects.

The first shock was preceded by no sign on earth, or in the heavens, to excite either alarm or suspicion; but at the movement and the sight of the destruction of everything around them, all were seized with panic, so that, losing their reason, and even the instinct of self-preservation, they remained stunned and motionless. As their senses returned, the first sensation of those who had escaped was joy at their good fortune; but the joy was fleeting, for it was immediately succeeded by the overwhelming thought of the loss of their families, the destruction of their homes, and, amidst the various forms of death with which they were surrounded, the fear that their last moment was at hand. They were still more agonized by the recollection that their relations might be alive beneath the ruins, and by perceiving the impossibility of helping them, they could only hope (a fearful consolation!) that they were dead. How many fathers and husbands could be seen wandering amidst the rubbish which covered those they loved, unable to raise these piles of masonry, and vainly calling to passers-by for assistance, until at last, in despair, they sat weeping day and night over the stones. In this mortal abandonment they turned to religion, and vowed offerings to the Deity and a future life of contrition and penance; Wednesday, in every week, was to be held sacred, and the 5th February in every year; on which days they hoped to appease the wrath of God by self-inflicted torture and solemn festivals in the church.

But the most dreadful fate (worse than can either be pictured or conceived) was that of those who remained alive beneath the rubbish, waiting for aid with eager and doubtful hope; they blamed the tardiness of their friends and those they loved best in life, accused them of avarice and ingratitude; and when, overcome by hunger and misery, they lost their senses and memory, and fainted, the last sentiments they breathed were those of indignation at their relatives, and hatred of the human race. Many were disinterested by the affectionate care of kindred, and a few more by the earthquake itself, which, while disgorging the first ruins, restored them to the light of day. When all the bodies were uncovered, it was found that a fourth part of these unhappy beings would have been saved alive, if assistance had not been delayed, and that the men had died while struggling to disengage themselves from the

rubbish, whilst the women had covered their faces with their hands in despair, or were tearing their hair. There were likewise mothers, indifferent to their own sufferings, while protecting their children by making an arch of their own bodies over them, or holding their arms extended towards their beloved ones, although unable to reach them through the rubbish, and many proofs were here given of the masculine courage and strong affections of women. An infant at the breast, which afterwards expired, was disinterred in a dying state on the third day; a woman with child, who had remained thirty hours beneath the stones and been rescued by the tenderness of her husband, gave birth to a healthy infant some days later, and the child survived a long time; when the mother was asked what was the subject of her thoughts beneath the ruins, she replied, "I was waiting." A girl of eleven years of age was dug out on the sixth day, and survived; another of sixteen, Eloisa Basili, remained buried eleven days, holding a boy in her arms who expired on the fourth, so that his body when taken out, was corrupt and putrid; but she had not been able to rid herself of the corpse, because they were both inclosed by the rubbish, and she counted the days by the dim light which penetrated even to this tomb.

The tenacity of life in the case of certain animals was still more remarkable; two mules continued to live under a heap of ruins, one twenty-two days, and the other twenty-three; even a turkey survived twenty-two days, and two pigs remained thirty-two days alive underground. Both beasts and men, when brought again into the light of day, exhibited a dull apathy and indifference to food, but an unquenchable thirst, and were nearly blind; the usual effects of a prolonged fast. Of the human beings saved, some recovered their health and spirits, while others continued suffering and melancholy: this difference was attributed to the difference of time when succour reached them; whether before or after they had lost hope. The servant girl Basili, though handsome, and well provided for in the house of her master, sought after and admired for her adventures, never relaxed into a smile during the remainder of her life: in short, all who had been rescued, when asked their thoughts while they were beneath the ground, answered by relating their histories as I have given them, but each con-

cluded by saying ; " Thus far I remember, and then I fell asleep." None of them lived long ; the unhappy Basili died young, before she had completed her twenty-fifth year, and neither wished to marry nor to take the veil ; she liked to be alone, and to sit under a tree, from whence she could neither see the city nor houses, and turned away her eyes at the approach of a child.

A long interval indeed had elapsed before aid had reached the sufferers, but not owing to the indifference of their relations, or of the people ; for, in the earthquake of Calabria, as in other events, good preponderated over evil, and while a few men showed themselves atrociously wicked, others displayed heroic virtue. In one instance, a wealthy man caused excavations to be made in the rubbish of his house, until he had found and recovered his money and other valuables ; he then stopped the search, although he left his uncle, brother, and wife, perhaps still alive, beneath the ruins. Again, there were two brothers who had been disputing the possession of a large inheritance, and, as will happen between near relations, were at variance with one another and enemies. Andrea fell with the house ; Vincenzo inherited the disputed property ; but anxious and uneasy for the fate of his brother, he never rested until he had unburied him, and was fortunate enough to take him out alive. But hardly had the magistrates resumed their functions when Andrea, deaf to all proposals of accommodation, had the ingratitude to renew the lawsuit, and lost it. Were I to relate all the instances of kindness and savage cruelty, of gratitude and ingratitude which occurred, I should fill many pages, merely to prove the truth of the old adage, that man is the best and worst of created beings. The cause of the delay in disinterring those buried beneath the ruins, was, that terror and the care of self-preservation absorbed every other thought and affection during the first days ; deprived of their homes in the most severe month of winter, exposed to violent rain, storms, and wind, their cellars destroyed, their stores of corn wasted, and the people of the neighbourhood afraid to bring victuals to a place where death was so constant and near, all their labour and money was devoted to the construction of rude huts, and the purchase of food for the support of life : the thought of their relations was faint and secondary.

Habit made these trials supportable ; the rudest huts were

improved, and even embellished; the inhabitants of distant villages, attracted by the love of gain, brought food and articles of convenience and luxury, and, when their sufferings and afflictions were abated, they returned to the enjoyments of life, to love and marriage. Society was re-organized, but not improved; during the first days, the general feeling of terror had absorbed all other passions, such as hatred, cupidity, and revenge, and there being no temptation to crime, that vicious population were for the moment peaceable and devout, except that when they saw the great with their heads bowed in affliction, they kept repeating with a malicious pleasure, which might be excused in the vassals of proud and haughty barons, "Ah! now rich and poor are all equal." The inhabitants of the baronial towns, menials and low ruffians, who had lately been released from prison (as in the terrible commotions of the 5th February, a feeling of humanity had caused the prison doors to be thrown open), now began the work of plunder amidst the ruins, robbing the huts which were least strongly guarded, and committing murder and every iniquity: yet these very men were earning large sums by their labour, in building cottages or digging in the ruins, or by going to a distance to purchase food. Many families who had been in easy circumstances were impoverished, and many more acquired great wealth. Personal property was for the most part destroyed, while in the new direction taken by the waters, the earth having been carried away in some places, and accumulated in others, rendered the most fertile lands barren; and distant kinsmen of deceased families suddenly received unhopèd-for accessions. By the land belonging to one person being superposed upon that of another, and by other cases of disputed property, for which there was no precedent in the Code, nor guide for the decision of the judges, numberless changes occurred, and property was divided and subdivided; and as suits at law had been destroyed with the archives, and papers and documents with the houses, the claims of private individuals were lost or confounded. The rights of property were therefore as much convulsed as the earth itself, and these changes of fortune being so rapid and unexpected, helped to degenerate the morals of the people.

The first tidings reached Naples so speedily, that from its very suddenness, and because truths which exceed the common belief

look like fiction, it was not credited. Flying rumours, besides messengers and letters, informed the Government that the disaster was only too true, and immediately as much as human weakness could supply against the irresistible force of nature, was sent to the assistance of the sufferers. Clothes, food, money, physicians, artificers, and architects, followed by learned academicians, archæologists, and painters, all hastened to Calabria; and, before any, the representative of the principality, field-marshal Francesco Pignatelli. A junta of magistrates was placed at the head of the administration; and the public revenue, and those of the Church, were collected and preserved in chests said to be consecrated; order was maintained in the State, the taxes, of which the ecclesiastical property paid half, as agreed to by the Concordat of 1741, were proportioned to the distressed state of Calabria, while an extraordinary tax of 1,200,000 ducats was imposed on the remaining ten provinces of the kingdom, for the aid of the two which had been ruined; and thus the afflicted population gradually recovered from their losses.<sup>1</sup>

In the summer, the stench from the dead bodies (some of which only had been burnt, and those too late), that from the stagnant waters, with unhealthy meteors, penury, distress, and bodily suffering, produced an epidemic disorder, which spread throughout the two Calabrias, and added dead to the dead, and affliction to the affliction of the people. Thus the year passed miserably away, and it was not until the commencement of the year 1784, when the land had regained its consistency, when the epidemic was spent, when the calamity was forgotten, or men had become resigned to misfortune, that they were able to look back and coolly

<sup>1</sup> Lorsque la nouvelle du fatal bouleversement de la Calabre arriva à Naples, le roi fit aussitôt partir un de ses ministres M. Pignatelli, avec une somme considérable pour secourir les habitans. Si les ordres du roi eussent été exécutés avec fidélité, aucun Calabrois n'eût péri depuis l'époque du tremblement de terre, mais la mégère Autrichienne voulant affaiblir sur le cœur de Ferdinand l'impression de cette nouvelle, tâcha de lui persuader que le récit étoit fort exagéré; et eut grand soin d'endoc-

triner Pignatelli avant son départ. Pignatelli n'exécuta pas la dixième partie des ordres qu'il avoit reçus du roi. Il garda une bonne moitié de l'argent qui lui restait, et remit le surplus au roi en l'assurant que la Calabre étoit en bon état. Pignatelli est devenu l'objet de l'exécration publique; le roi instruit quoique fort tard de sa scélératesse et de sa perfidie devint furieux; mais la protection de la reine a sauvé Pignatelli. Il brille encore à la cour.—*Mémoires Secrets des Cours de l'Italie.* Pub. 1793.

calculate their losses. In the course of ten months, two hundred cities and villages had been destroyed, and 60,000 Calabrese had perished by all manner of deaths, while it was impossible to compute the amount of damage, which might well be said to be incalculable. There were the usual number of births, many and strange marriages; crimes were frequent and atrocious, and affliction and mourning everywhere.

In the first days of the year 1784, the Emperor Joseph II. came to Naples under a private name. Refusing the honours due to his rank, and the reception prepared for him in the palace, he asked for a guide and instructor to point out all that was remarkable in the city. The queen sent him Luigi Serio, a learned man and scholar, of agreeable manners and conversation. Joseph wished to visit the scenes of the recent devastations in Calabria, but was deterred by the difficulties of access, the winter season, and the want of good roads. He, for the second time, conversed with those Neapolitans who bore the highest reputation for learning and patriotism, whose acquaintance he had made on his former visit. He again spoke with them of his bold and philosophical projects for the government of the empire, and, at his departure, left behind him a character for virtue and philanthropy.

Anxious to imitate his example, and that of Leopold Grand Duke of Tuscany, the Queen of Naples persuaded the king to make a tour in Italy; but the pride of the Bourbons not permitting them to assume private names, or to rest contented with a small retinue of civilians, they travelled with all the pomp of royalty. On the 30th April 1785, they embarked on a vessel richly fitted up, followed by twelve men of war, and sailed for Leghorn, avoiding the States of Rome, in order to mark their displeasure towards the pontiff, at that time their enemy. Arrived in the harbour, they were visited by the princes of Tuscany, with whom they proceeded to Pisa and Florence. The old custom of holding a tournament on the bridge was revived in Pisa, though, by omitting the warlike reality of a fiercer age, it was reduced to a theatrical show. Other honours and diversions awaited them at Florence. It is said that the Grand Duke Leopold, full of the reforms he had introduced in his State of Tuscany, asked the king how much and



what he had done for his kingdom ; to which Ferdinand replied, " Nothing." Then, after a moment's pause, he added, " Many Tuscans beg for employment in my kingdom ; how many Neapolitans ask the same of your highness in Tuscany ?" But before the Duke could answer, the queen prudently interrupted the conversation.<sup>1</sup> The sovereigns proceeded from Florence to Milan, thence to Turin and Genoa, where they embarked upon the same fleet, increased by English, Dutch, and Maltese vessels, which, together with the ships of the king (twenty-three men-of-war of all sizes), conveyed them as far as the port of Naples. They had travelled four months with so much splendour and profusion, which was reported and exaggerated a few years later in Germany, that Ferdinand acquired the name of the Golden King. The city of Naples held great rejoicings on the return of the sovereigns, which was celebrated as if they had achieved a national victory. The journey cost the treasury more than a million of ducats, enough to have healed the recent wounds inflicted by the earthquake.

The end of the year 1788 left the palace in mourning. Two of the princes, Januarius aged nine years, and Charles six months, were seized with small-pox just when a messenger arrived to announce the death of Charles III., king of Spain, which had taken place on the 14th December of that year. Although he was succeeded by Charles IV., brother of our king, the royal family lost the support of the wisdom and name of the deceased monarch. A few days afterwards the Infant Januarius died, and was followed to the grave by the younger Infant Prince Charles ; and at the funeral rites, which were celebrated in the royal chapel, the effigies, and the names of the father and two sons of the king, were exhibited. This accumulation of misfortunes would have caused

<sup>1</sup> Gian Gastone, the last Grand Duke of the House of Medici, died 1737. Under his mild government, the attachment of the Tuscans to the House of Medici, which had been long dormant, revived. After the war between the Houses of Hapsburg and Bourbon, the powers of Europe decided on bestowing Tuscany on Francis Duke of Lorraine, the husband of Maria Theresa, from whom it passed to her second

son, Leopold. Many Tuscans left the country on the death of Gian Gastone. More than 30,000 families settled in Naples and Sicily, where they formed a strong bond of union among themselves, and, from their superior education to that of the Neapolitans, made rapid fortunes, and filled places of influence and profit.—See *Mémoires Secrets des Cours de l'Italie*, vol. i. p. 293.

endless sorrow in a private family ; but the palace was consoled by eight living children ; the queen was pregnant, and these misfortunes befel a royal house, in whom the affections of blood are weakened by the habits of life, and the diversions of a court.

That same year, 1788, died, universally lamented, Gaetano Filangieri, at the age of thirty-six, leaving his immortal work, entitled, *Scienza della Legislazione* (the Science of Legislation), incomplete. His loss was bitterly deplored by his friends, as well as by the philosophers of the age ; but a time of great misery was at hand (then not far distant), when men as distinguished as Filangieri for learning and virtue were doomed to perish upon the scaffold, or under tortures ; and those who had mourned him, were then consoled with the thought, that his premature death had anticipated an age of tyranny.

The king had gained nothing by his visit to other states ; for, as he neither cared for constitutions nor laws, nor the growth nor decay of empires, and had seen no land whose beauties were comparable with his own Naples, he returned to his kingdom more in love with it than ever, and more than ever despising every other. This sentiment or prejudice, which he shared with his subjects, is confounded with the idea of patriotism in the minds of the most civilized as well as the most barbarous people. But whatever his motives might be, Ferdinand felt that he owed some monument of regal grandeur to the demands of the age ; the palaces and buildings which he had finished at a heavy expense were begun by his father, and the glory belonged to Charles ; the two theatres of the Fondo and of San Ferdinando, built in his reign, did him little honour, compared with the magnificent theatre of San Carlos, which owed its origin to his predecessor ; and the other building of the Granili, as it was called, at the bridge of the Maddalena, was rather censured than praised ; the good laws of his reign, and the power of the secular jurisdiction maintained against that of the Pope, did not originate with him, but was begun before his time, and redounded to the honour of his counsellors and ministers. He, therefore, determined to repeat his experiment which had been so highly applauded, by establishing a colony, like those in the desert islands off Sicily, and proposed to found one still better adapted for the promotion of arts and manufactures, in a place not

far remote from the palace of Caserta. He selected for its site the rising ground called San Leucio, where he built a number of houses for the colonists, and others of larger dimensions, for the manufacture of silk, besides an hospital, a church, and a small villa for his own residence. He provided, at a great expense, foreign artificers, new machinery, and ingenious works; and, when this was completed, he collected thirty-one families, who came there upon his invitation or their free choice, and formed a population of 214 souls. He next composed statutes for the regulation of the manufacture, and for the administration of the rising society, and added a code of laws, of which I will here give a few extracts, as this was the true glory of the king, and a document of the spirit of the age, and as it gave no small impulse to the political opinions of the day. A royal edict was issued in the year 1789 in these words:—

“In the magnificent palace of Caserta, begun by my august father, and continued by me, I did not find that silence and solitude conducive to meditation and repose of mind, but another city in the midst of the country, which rivalled the capital in luxury and magnificence; and, while seeking a place of retirement, I fixed on the mount San Leucio as best adapted to my purpose; from whence the colony arose.”

After having explained his intentions, and related what he had already accomplished, he dictated the laws, and urged the duties incumbent on the inhabitants, towards God, towards the State, in the colony, and in their families. The ordinances which follow are worthy of record:—

“Merit alone shall confer distinction among the colonists of San Leucio; there shall be perfect equality in dress, and all luxury is strictly forbidden.

“Marriage shall be celebrated as a religious as well as a civil rite; the choice of the young people shall be free, nor shall the parents be allowed to interfere; and as the spirit and soul of the society of San Leucio is equality among the colonists, dowries are abolished. I, the king, will bestow the house with the implements of trade, and all necessary assistance to every new household.

“I hereby will and command, in order to avoid those legal contests which are the usual sequel of the act, that none among you

make a will. Natural justice alone must guide you in your behaviour towards your relatives. Male and female children shall succeed in equal shares to the heritage of their parents; the parents shall succeed to the children, and, after them, the collateral relations, only in the first degree; failing them, the wife in the usufruct; if there should be no heirs (and none can inherit except those above mentioned) the property of the defunct shall go to the Monte,<sup>1</sup> and to the fund for orphans.

“Funeral obsequies shall be simple, devout, without any distinction, and shall be conducted by the parish at the expense of the family. It is forbidden to wear black, except for parents, for a husband or wife, and then not longer than two months, when the sign of mourning may be worn on the arm.

“Inoculation for small-pox is commanded, which the magistrates shall enforce, without permitting the authority or tenderness of parents to interfere.

“All boys and girls shall learn in the normal schools, reading, writing, arithmetic, and their several duties; and shall be taught their trade in other schools. The magistrates shall be responsible to us for the fulfilment of this law.

“These magistrates, called ‘seniori,’ shall be elected in a solemn assembly of the citizens, composed of the heads of families, by secret ballot, and by a majority of votes. They shall settle disputes among the citizens, and pronounce judgment; and their decisions on matters appertaining to the manufacture carried on in the colony, shall be without appeal; they shall be empowered to punish all petty delinquencies in the way of correction; they shall watch over the execution of the laws and statutes. The office of ‘seniore’ shall last one year.

“The citizens of San Leucio in all cases involving interests beyond the competence of the ‘seniori,’ or for misdemeanours, shall be amenable to the common magistrates and laws of the kingdom. A citizen delivered up as guilty to the ordinary tribunals, shall be first privately stripped of the dress of the colonists, and then, until he shall be declared innocent, he shall be deprived of the rights and benefits of a colonist.

<sup>1</sup> *Monte*. A bank where money is lent out upon interest. See *Farini*, translated

by the Right Honourable W. E. Gladstone, vol. i. p. 143.

“On feast days, after the celebration of the day, and after delivering up the work of the past week, those capable of bearing arms shall go through their military exercises ; and as your first duty is to your country, you must give your blood and labour in its defence and honour.

“These are the laws which I present to you, citizens and colonists of San Leucio. Observe them, and you will be happy.”

By such good laws, the colony prospered and grew rich. At its commencement it numbered 214 colonists, and now, after a lapse of forty years, there are 823. Their manufactures are excellent ; the operatives were happy until the pestilence of political opinions and suspicion penetrated this receptacle of industry and peace. But when the code appeared it was the wonder of the world, and delighted the people of Naples, who, although they knew that these ideas did not proceed directly from the king, hoped to see the principles of government in the colony spread throughout the kingdom.

Two of the king's daughters, Maria Theresa and Luigia Amalia, had reached a marriageable age ; and his son and heir, Francis, was twelve years old, when it was proposed to form new connexions for the family by their three nuptials. Even the shadow of Spanish authority in the Court of Naples had disappeared by the death of Charles III., and the Bourbons of France were held in little estimation. The queen, therefore, liberated from foreign influence, and all-powerful over her husband, determined by the marriages of her three children to strengthen the bond with one ally ; and, therefore, to unite the two princesses to two Austrian archdukes (Francis and Ferdinand), and the Archduchess Maria Clementina, of the same family, to Prince Francis of Naples. But the untimely death of Joseph II. intervened in February 1790.

To him succeeded the Grand Duke Leopold, whose eldest son Francis remained at Vienna, the hope of the empire ; and his second, Ferdinand, came as grand duke to Tuscany. The future destiny of the royal brides being thus improved, the preparations for the marriages were hastened ; and that year, 1790, the king and queen of Naples accompanied their daughters to Vienna, where both nuptials took place, and where the preliminaries of the third were settled ; the betrothed pair being yet too young to

marry, the queen was satisfied with having drawn the tie to her family closer. Splendid fêtes were given in the imperial palace ; besides which the Emperor Leopold went to Hungary to be crowned king, escorted for the ceremony by Ferdinand and Caroline of Naples, whom the Hungarians, after having honoured their own king, addressed in Latin, praising the reforms they had already introduced for the benefit of their people, and mentioning San Leucio by name. So far does the good or evil fame of princes extend !

## CHAPTER IV.

THE REVOLUTION IN FRANCE AND ITS FIRST EFFECTS IN THE  
KINGDOM OF NAPLES.

THE revolution begun in France was already, in the year 1790, disturbing the peace of the sovereigns and people of Europe, and effected so entire a change in the tone of the government in Naples, that it hardly appeared the king and his ministers were the same. I have, for this reason, divided the proceedings of the reign of Ferdinand iv. down to the year 1799, into two books : and as it would be impossible to comprehend the political changes of Naples apart from those of France, I shall give an account of what there took place (although well known through other books), but in the hope that it will not be unacceptable to the reader of the present day, and useful to the future.

The disorders in the interior administration of France, which had commenced during the reign of Louis xiv., and had increased under the kings his successors, reached their climax in the reign of Louis xvi. When, in the year 1786, it became necessary, in order to save the country from imminent ruin, to retrench the expenses, to abolish or restrict privileges, and increase the taxes, these measures met with obstacles in the habits and luxury of the palace, in the audacity of the clergy and nobles, and in the fears of the people. The ministers were daily changed, and, as is usually the case where there are disorders in the State, every change raised the confidence and hopes of the people, and restored the finances, but only for a time, and to fall again with the fall of the minister. The king summoned a council of notables, consisting of seven princes or members of the blood-royal, five ministers, twelve councillors of state, thirty-nine nobles, eleven ecclesiastics, and seventy-six magistrates and officials ; in all, one hundred and

fifty members. They met in Versailles in the beginning of the year 1787; Louis opened the meeting by declaring it to be his intention in this assembly to follow the example of other French kings, and that his object was to increase the revenues of the State, and to render them secure and unembarrassed, to disfranchise commerce, and relieve the distress of his subjects; he therefore asked the advice and assistance of the notables. The Garde des Sceaux spoke next, pronouncing a eulogy on the king; and was followed by the comptroller of the exchequer, Charles Alexander Calonne, who, in a haughty tone, endeavoured to impress upon his audience, the services and labours of Louis, the miserable state of the interior administration in 1783, its prosperity in 1787, and his own merits; proceeding to reply to the public accusations, he charged Terray and Necker, his predecessors in office, with falsehood, and concluded by proposing extraordinary taxes to be levied upon ecclesiastical and feudal property. His speech and arrogant manner displeased, were unsuited to the times, and only increased the difficulties of the king and the government. His proposal therefore met with the opposition its author deserved, and such was the outcry raised against Calonne, that the king was obliged, from prudence, to dismiss him, and he chose, as his successor, the bishop of Toulouse, a violent speaker in the assembly of notables, but acceptable to his colleagues: when seconding the wishes of the king, the assembly proposed new taxes on the property of the clergy and nobles, and revoked many privileges; after registering these decrees, they dissolved themselves.

Whilst the assembly of notables and the court of Versailles were thus agitated, the *savans* and friends of innovation in France were discussing the same political topics with popular freedom, and rousing the people to demand more extensive reforms than those offered by the king. When these offers, therefore, were (in accordance with usage) sent up to the parliament of Paris, the members, ambitious of the applause of the nation, refused to ratify them. One young deputy denounced the extravagance of the palace, and another spoke upon the necessity of convoking the States-General; as this measure promised to be of great utility, as well from the powers delegated to that body, as from its being in accordance with the universal desire expressed by the nation, the resolution



was gladly heard and seconded. The convocation of the States-General, which was the commencement of the French Revolution, was first demanded by the parliament of Paris.

The king was indignant at this proposal, and summoning the parliament to Versailles in a special meeting (called in the Constitutions of France a *Bed of Justice*), caused the acts which had been rejected in Paris, to be ratified. But the Parliament, on recovering their liberty, protested against the violence to which they had been subjected, and the king, as a punishment and example, banished them to Troyes. The other parliaments of France proclaimed to the people the acts of the parliament of Paris, and as none of the edicts or laws had been registered, they could not take effect, and immeasurably increased the difficulties of the exchequer. The king at length, obliged to feign a reconciliation, declared the parliament penitent and suppliant, and recalled the members to Paris, in order to re-assemble them on the 20th September.

Upon this day, with ill-timed assumption of power, laying aside the proper and usual forms of address, he read a decree, which imposed a loan of four hundred and forty millions, and promised the convocation of the States-General at the end of five years. Silence and consternation prevailed throughout the assembly, and the Duke of Orleans asked, with submissive gestures, whether this were a bed of justice or a free congress? To which the king replied, "It is a royal session!" After the first speaker, other and bolder tongues were unloosed; and Orleans and the deputies being exiled from the assembly and from the city, the new law was registered by decree. It was next resolved in the royal councils to destroy the cause and germs of disobedience in the parliaments, by restricting the judicial authority, as well as by undermining the political power of this assembly. The king, therefore, created a new court, called the *Cour Plenièrre*, composed of peers, prelates, and the chiefs of the army; but before publishing the edict, he awaited the arrival of the military at the seat of parliament, and until the agents of the royal authority should be prepared for the seizure and punishment of the contumacious.

These intrigues were discovered to the parliament of Paris by means of spies and by bribes to those intrusted with the secret. They thereupon thwarted the edict by a public manifesto, setting

forth the institutions of France, the rights of the people and of the parliaments, and the obligations of the king. Menacing voices were heard, while more alarming disturbances agitated the provinces, where the discontent was unrestrained by fear, and where the people were neither duped by the artifices, nor corrupted by the gifts of the court. In the midst of all this, the new taxes were refused, the loan failed, the expenses were increased, the administrations were disorganized, and the treasury empty. As evasions were no longer of any use, the king, forced on by hard necessity, in the middle of the year 1788, convoked the States-General for the first of May of the ensuing year, and recalled Necker to the administration. So great an event in prospect soothed present irritation, every faction placed its hopes in that great assembly, and the king himself trusted to their support for his despotic power.

The days which intervened between the convocation of the States-General and its meeting, were passed on either side in solicitude and active endeavours to promote the interests of their party ; but the labours of the *savans* were most successful. While discussing political questions, they explained what constitutes the people, and what the monarchy ; in whom the sovereign power resides ; what were the clergy, the nobility, and the third estate in the nation ; the judicial authority of the magistrates, and the principles of taxation ; in what consists the citizen, his duties and rights, and how far the dignity of man ought to be considered, in the end aimed at by the laws and the acts of rulers. By these lessons France learned to know and to aim at the attainment of that form of government best adapted to her circumstances. The idea of freedom did not then pass the boundaries of monarchy ; for the very men who one year later became the warm advocates of a republic, at that time terminated their arguments and hopes in a representative chamber, and in other forms which neither encroached on the prerogative nor the dignity of the sovereign.

The States-General recalled difficult but honourable periods. Out of fifteen assemblies enumerated in history, beginning with the year 1302, under Philippe le Bel, until 1604, under Louis XIII., one alone, that of 1560, had been turbulent and inefficient. The remaining thirteen at one time supported the king in his contests with the pontiff, at another reconciled dissensions

within the royal family, sometimes furnished an army to repel a foreign enemy, and frequently supplied money to the impoverished exchequer ; but amidst the infinite variety of impulses by which such crowded assemblies are moved, the peace of the kingdom had never been disturbed. The king was encouraged by these examples, and besides hoped to introduce such persons into the States-General as would support the prerogatives of despotism.

The deputies assembled at Versailles on the day fixed, but were divided among themselves ; for the nobility and clergy now perceiving the injury they would sustain by the fall of absolute power, and repenting their show of resistance in the assembly of notables and in the parliaments, approached the throne, although timid and mistrustful, but resolved to support their own rights (as they called their privileges) against the attacks and presumption of the Third Estate, who arrived elated, strong in their numbers, and supported by the arguments of philosophy. While this want of harmony subsisted, it was impossible to reduce the three assemblies into one ; and, finally, the name of Third Estate being considered inappropriate,<sup>1</sup> they were called the chamber of commons, and afterwards the National Assembly. The instructions of their constituents were first read, by which it appeared that the electors desired the government of France should continue monarchical ; the crown hereditary in the male line ; and that the person of the king should be sacred and inviolate ; that the king should remain the depository of the executive power ; the agents of his authority *responsible* ; the laws only valid when made by the nation, and confirmed by the king ; the consent of the nation necessary for taxation, and that property as well as the liberty of the citizen should be held sacred ; while all agreed in proposing that the present States-General should give the kingdom a code of laws, and that their future convocations should be fixed at certain periods and guaranteed.

These were the instructions and demands of the French people in the year 1789, a document alike honourable to the age and

<sup>1</sup> Because, though originally composed of men of letters, merchants, and lawyers, some of the nobles likewise procured their own election as deputies to this chamber, and many of the clergy joined them, after the proposal for the union of the three into one chamber had been rejected by the two first.

nation. The necessity of a reform in the State was apparent to all except the king, the nobles, and clergy, who were blinded by the fascinations of despotism. On the 20th June, the royal guards stopped the National Assembly when about to enter their hall of meeting ; and after vain remonstrances, the members were obliged to seek shelter in a large building used for the game of tennis,<sup>1</sup> and there standing during the whole day (the old and infirm included), they declared themselves permanent until they should have given a perpetual statute to France. This resolution was sealed by an oath. The Assembly itself, the place of meeting, the declaration, and the oath, were the beginning of the Revolution, which was now inevitable. The nerve and soul of these movements was Gabriele Onorato Ricchetti, Count of Mirabeau, of Italian origin, a noble, but deputy to the Third Estate from Provence, and celebrated for his eloquence and for his political schemes ; he was a passionate lover and champion of liberty, but only of that liberty which the wants and habits of France demanded. His views were shared by other men of great abilities ; but while their honours were eclipsed by deeds of greater renown which followed, Mirabeau alone among the men of his time still holds an exalted position, and is held up as a spectacle to future generations.

The meeting of the 20th June alarmed the king and the court. The king sent a messenger to announce his intention to address the Three Estates together, in a general assembly, on the day after the morrow ; and the next day, having summoned strong detachments of infantry and cavalry, he encamped them in a hostile attitude around Versailles and Paris. On the day fixed, he repaired to the Congress amidst the loud cheers of the people, and addressing the members in a haughty tone, revoked the decrees, and even the name of the National Assembly, and commanded the

<sup>1</sup> The Tiers Etat had voted themselves the National Assembly on the 17th June, in their single chamber ; they declared the taxation levied in the kingdom by illegal means, null ; but allowed its continuance until the separation of the assembly. The king resolved to hold a sitting on the 23d June, to harangue the States in the hall of the Commons, which, on account of its size,

was most convenient for the purpose. Workmen were accordingly sent there to erect a throne, and the royal sitting proclaimed in the streets of Versailles, but no intimation was sent either to the Assembly or the president, who, on arriving at their own door, were unceremoniously repulsed.—See Smythe, *Lectures on the French Revolution*.

union of the three chambers in one. It was observed that he declared:—"No measure of the States-General should take effect without the royal approbation. That no king had ever done as much as he for the benefit of his people; that he alone understood how to act for the good of the French, and (if abandoned by others) he alone would complete the work commenced, since he was the real and sole representative of his people." In the midst of this oration, the Garde des Sceaux read a paper aloud in which the words, "*Le Roi le veut, le Roi l'ordonne*," were frequently heard, with other phrases equally at variance with the temper of the times. The king, then declaring that all the demands of that assembly had been complied with, departed, followed by the applause as well as by the persons of the members of the first and second Estates, and by the silence of the third, who remained in the hall for deliberation; when dismissed they resisted, and in the midst of this confusion and hurry of time, they decreed the persons of the representatives of the people inviolate.

Suspensions and uneasiness continued to increase. The king, tired of the lukewarm counsels of Necker, sent him into exile; additional soldiers were collected round Versailles; the loyalty of the guards was stimulated by military banquets in the palace, and the queen fomented the spirit of irritation; the stores of corn for that year, already scanty, were still further exhausted; and popular commotions disturbed the whole of France. Yet both the Assembly and the king desired peace; but peace to one party was new laws and a free government, and to the other, submission and the wonted docility of the people; and thus from a mutual desire for tranquillity arose discord. Hardly was it known that Necker had been dismissed, when the minds of men being already prepared for some great event, all Paris was in a state of excitement, as he was believed to be the support of the finances, the barrier opposed to the extreme measures of despotism, and the mediator between the Assembly and the Court. The populace rose in a tumult, and bore the marble bust of the disgraced minister in triumph through the city, vociferating praises in his honour, and menaces against the monarch. The Swiss guards, unable to tolerate this sight, rushed upon the crowd with their weapons, broke the bust, and interrupted the triumphal pro-

cession ; a triumph as undeserved as his exile, for Necker was only a well-intentioned man with fair abilities, vain, and unequal to the exigencies of the times, and owed his reputation and misfortunes to the present emergency : thrice honourably invited into France, and thrice banished, his fall was each time lamented, and his last dismissal was an act of imprudence on the part of the king.

The three chambers, until that time at variance, were reconciled by their fears, so that they conjointly sent to petition the king to remove the camp from the two cities, and to arm the civic guard for the defence of the state. He replied, that the condition of Paris obliged him, instead of removing the troops, to draw them nearer, and increase their numbers ; that to arm the civic guard would at that moment be dangerous ; that he knew how to repress popular tumults, and that he alone was able to judge of the urgency of the case. These bold words would not have emanated from so timid a character as Louis, had not he, prompted by the instincts natural to royalty, by deference to the will of his beloved and haughty queen, and by evil counsellors, been long inwardly resolved to crush the spirit of innovation by the force of his army, as soon as affairs reached such a climax as to justify the extremity of turning his arms against his own subjects ; and meanwhile the dissensions in the chamber, popular tumults and civil commotions, were smoothing the way for the accomplishment of his evil design.

But in Paris, the civic guard assembled in a disorderly manner, elected as their commander-in-chief the Marquis de la Fayette, who was distinguished for the glory he had won in America, fighting in the name of that same liberty for which France was now sighing. Suddenly there arose a cry in the city, " To the Bastile !" The most daring among the people, supplied with weapons stolen from the dépôts of arms and from the Hôtel des Invalides, and their numbers augmented by deserters from the neighbouring camps, rushed with heedless fury to attack a fortress defended by high walls, plenty of arms, and a faithful garrison, and commanded by the Marquis de Launay, a staunch royalist, who despised the people and theories of political liberty. Vast multitudes presented themselves before the gates of the castle, loudly demanding its surrender by cries and by their messengers, and

upon a refusal, their rage, excitement, numbers, and preparations for an assault, increased.

It was a fearful day which saw, on one side, fifty thousand soldiers led by six generals with a hundred cannon, stationed in eight camps, around Paris and Versailles, other troops quartered within both cities, and with an armed fortress in their possession; and all these instruments of destruction ready to act at a word from an offended king: and on the other, armed ruffians, deserters from the army, the people, and vast numbers of the lowest of the populace. Fierce encounters were apprehended between the contending parties, and that the victory would decide the destinies of France. The king meanwhile, either terrified by the aspect of affairs, or from irresolution, only drew the camps nearer the city, upon which the citizens hastily closed the gates, fortified the walls, tore up the pavement, and prepared for defence. The civic guard of a hundred and fifty thousand men, armed in various ways, waited their orders from the civil authority, who sustained his official dignity with marvellous serenity.

But the rabble collected around the Bastile went about with eager rage, seeking an entrance and attempting to force their way through the gates and over the walls, while hurling menaces against the garrison. The governor, tired of this clamour, and feeling secure in the fortress against the efforts of an undisciplined mob, while certain of aid from the neighbouring camp, ordered his men to fire upon the people, when some fell dead and others wounded. The crowds retreated, but rage soon succeeded terror, and so numerous were the enemy surrounding the fortress, that after they had passed the first circuit of walls, and the people were standing beneath the second, the governor, who had hitherto been deaf to terms, hoisted the flag of peace, and the fortress was surrendered to the citizens on condition of sparing the lives of the garrison. But a raging populace keep no terms; the unhappy Launay leaving the walls was murdered, and his head, fixed on a lance, was paraded, amidst horrible rejoicings, through the city. Many acts, both heroic and terrible, followed; the instruments of torture were drawn forth to public view, and seven unhappy beings came into the light of day, one of whom had lost his reason and was sinking from extreme old age, an inhabitant of the Bastile

from time immemorial, with none to recognise him, and his name and country unknown; another, who had been confined thirty years, and five who had been placed there during the reign of Louis XVI. That same day (the 14th July 1789), the people began to demolish the walls, and the National Assembly decreed that the Bastile should disappear. The spot so infamous for acts of tyranny, was then called "Place de la Liberté."

The revolution advanced by rapid strides; having been already declared in the acts and oaths of the Assembly, it was made irrevocable by the seizure of the Bastile, and by the blood of the citizens. This last deed had roused the minds of all men, and while the court was overwhelmed with terror, the populace became arrogant, the confidence of the people rose, and the world wondered what was next to follow. The king next day went to the Assembly without guards or escort, accompanied only by his brothers, and remained standing, while he informed the members he had come to consult them on affairs of the utmost importance to the state, and still more painful to his feelings; he alluded to the disorders in the city. He, the head of the nation, asked the National Assembly for the means of restoring public order and tranquillity; he was aware of the malicious rumours current against him, but he trusted for their refutation to the universal belief in his rectitude. Always one with the nation, and confiding in the representatives of the people, and in their loyalty, he had withdrawn the soldiers from Versailles and Paris.

After the Assembly had applauded these words, and testified their respect for the king, and their joy at this announcement, Louis was petitioned to choose ministers better adapted to the times, and to show himself to the people of Paris. He granted or promised all they asked, and departed on foot, accompanied by the Three Estates as an escort as far as the palace, where the queen, holding the dauphin by the hand, was waiting his return; so that it appeared as if the whole family of the king was united to the people in the bonds of concord for the happiness of France. The ministry was changed, and Necker returned; many of the court retired either by command or from the warnings of their consciences; the king went the next day to Paris in a procession composed of civilians, escorted by the civic guard, with the National Assembly



in his train ; he was met by the civic magistrates, and was accompanied by a vast assemblage of the people, who cheered him on his way. The hopes of all being confirmed in the speeches which followed, the tremendous spectacle of the taking of the Bastile was, by a freak of fortune, strangely contrasted in a single day with a triumphant peace.

This flattering appearance of harmony lasted two months or more. The chambers made good laws which the king promised to ratify ; the clergy and nobles resigned their ancient privileges ; patriotic donations relieved the poor and assisted the treasury ; and the welcome title of " Restorer of the national liberty " was bestowed upon the king. Whilst the good elements of the state were thus strengthening, misdeeds were proportionably fewer. But under an outer rind of prosperity, two germs of opposite tendencies were secretly fructifying—republicanism and absolutism. Since the curb of law had been first loosened and then broken, time-honoured authorities fallen, and that of the king declining, while the path by which to reach the summit of fortune and ambition had been made easy, many bad or bold spirits proposed to institute a more comprehensive form of government in the shape of a republic. On the other side, the habits and fascinations of despotism, which princes and the great can never learn to forget, suggested schemes of tyranny. The crimes or disorders of the people were the means by which the first hoped for the attainment of their end ; and those of the second, secret plots and connivance within the palace. Sundry indications betrayed the real intentions of both parties.

On the first and second of October the Royal Guards gave a banquet to the regiments quartered at Versailles, and when intoxicated, they were heard to give cheers for the king and the royal family, accompanied by insults and menaces directed against the National Assembly and the most distinguished deputies, who were mentioned by name. The king appeared amongst them on his return from the chase ; and soon afterwards the queen and the dauphin ; upon which the acclamations, auguries of success, abusive language, and hilarity increased. The queen did not forget this banquet when in the court circles, but rewarded those officers who had been most vehement in their language and ardent in their

offers of service with gifts and words of praise, while the ladies of her court dispensed amongst them white cockades, the badge of the royalist party. The guards prevented all access to the palace to those who wore the tricolour (the national colours), and some of the citizens adorned with ribbon of the three colours, were beaten and murdered by the body-guard, on the road between Versailles and Paris. Meantime the National Assembly, unsuspecting of what was going forward, sent up laws to the king, praying for his approbation ; but Louis, who had resumed the tone of an absolute monarch, answered that this was not a time to confirm such acts. The tidings of these events spread throughout France, and were exaggerated by fame and by the malice of party spirit.

The Republicans accordingly gained courage. On the morning of the 5th October, a number of women (upwards of four thousand) of the lowest description, uttering loud cries and lamentations, and pretending they were rendered desperate by hunger, repaired to the Hôtel de Ville to demand bread, and thence with the cries and gestures of mad women, proceeded to ransack houses, and commit robberies in the city, and on the road to Versailles. Armed with pikes and clubs, and led by some of the people who had made themselves notorious at the Bastille, they made all other women they fell in with, join their ranks, either voluntarily, or by compulsion. The civic guards having quelled the tumults in the city, part of them followed the women, suspicious of these new kind of troops, and of the uncertain humours of a female army. On a sudden, the soldiers stationed in Paris asked leave to accompany them, and as they could not be deterred either by the authority or the advice of their commander-in-chief, twenty thousand bearing the name of the army of Paris, and followed by La Fayette, started for Versailles. They came up with the women when it was nearly midnight, and whilst these dispersed themselves separately or in groups over the city, the soldiers encamped in the squares.

Many disputes arose during the night, and many more the following day. The women sent deputations to the Assembly and the king, to whom they related all their wants and wishes, mingled with entreaties and menaces, tears and rage ; the answers were kind and consolatory, and returning to their companions,

they gave an account of all they had said or heard ; and wrangled and brawled among themselves, until, weary with the fatigue of their new vocation, and with the rain which fell in torrents, they sought shelter for the night in the churches and under the porticos of the House of Assembly. A band of ruffians, however (five hundred or more), who had followed the women to Versailles, prepared for tumults, or ready to create them, took no repose ; but one after the other entering the gardens and courts of the palace, which were negligently guarded, they seized and murdered the sentinels, and gained possession of the royal mansion. The family, consisting of the king, the queen, the princess Elizabeth, and two children, awakened by the noise of arms and by their servants, fled to the most secret recesses of the palace ; and meantime these hardened wretches, with their weapons bared, reached in their search the room where the queen had shortly before been sleeping ; finding the bed empty, but yet warm, they pierced it in several places with daggers or pikes. It providentially happened that they were unacquainted with the interior arrangement of the palace, and therefore could not reach the place where the unhappy family lay concealed, terrified and weeping in silence, lest the sound of their cries should betray them : many of the king's guards and of the servants were killed. But the civic guard of Versailles and the army of Paris now hastened to their aid, and at the first dawn of day the deputies of the Assembly, and those citizens who were friends of justice meeting together, a guard was placed around the palace, and the sanguinary ruffians of the night disappeared.

This horrible night, never effaced from the mind of the king, and never forgiven, was the chief cause of the slaughter of his family. The republicans desired that the king should proceed to Paris, where their party was strongest, and went about shouting with the rabble—"The king to Paris !" The Assembly did not interfere, as they hoped for greater security in the metropolis, and La Fayette consented, because he could there guard the king better, serve the cause of monarchy in his person, and present him as an obstacle to both factions. The king made submissive by the alarm of the past night, but always declaring his wishes identical with those of his people, resolved to proceed that very day with his family to Paris. The National Assembly were to follow.

As soon as the news was made known, his departure and reception were prepared. The ruffians who had quitted Paris two days before, now returned triumphant, carrying two heads fixed on the points of lances, which bore witness to the deaths of two of the body-guard, who, faithful to the king, had been killed fighting in the interior of the palace; this barbarous procession, however, only excited pity and respect for the sufferers, and was a disgrace to those who triumphed. The battalions of women followed, but having laid aside the delicacy and modesty of their sex, they appeared transformed into furies and monsters; after them, the troops led by La Fayette marched in order, and succeeding these multitudes came the carriages of the king, the queen, and the royal family; who, although they answered with smiles to the joyful shouts of the people, still bore on their brows the impress of gloom and suspicion, with the fatigue and terror of the preceding night. The whole conduct of the government underwent an immediate change; the king confirmed the new laws passed by the Assembly, and confided the care of the city to the municipal magistrates, and the protection of the kingdom, and even of the palace, to the national guards. The ministers were retained as a form of the monarchy; the municipalities, the electors, and the Assembly ruled the state; the king was to all appearance a prisoner, but called himself free, in order to conciliate both factions, who desired at once to find in him the submission of a captive that he might not oppose the new statutes, and the power of a king to legitimize them. Louis now began to despair of a restoration to power by his own strength, or by the help of his party, and therefore turned his thoughts and endeavours to gain the assistance of foreign potentates, hoping to escape from France, in order to return thither with Prussians and Germans. But the time and opportunity had not yet arrived for the great struggle.

Meanwhile France, set free from the restraints of ordinary rule, was governed according to chance, and to the abilities of those who happened to be in authority in each separate place. The first violence of the people was directed against the castles and baronial residences, where, excited by their hatred of feudal recollections, and burning and plundering in the name of liberty, they committed every kind of atrocity. Obscure men, in the hope of rising to power,

met together in secret conspiracies ; and the nobles, flying from the unhappy land, sought refuge in foreign countries ; the words *aristocrat* and *enemy* became synonymous. The court nobility migrated to Coblenz, and the provincial nobility to Piedmont, where, under the Count d'Artois, the brother of the king, they opposed the Revolution by plots and arms, all which only helped to smooth the way to the Republic. Amidst so many discordant or perverse designs, the Assembly alone continued to discuss political theories, and proposed to rest the monarchy they still advocated upon rational foundations. They declared the equality of man, made the laws equal, and property and person secure, while clearing the path of equity, and preventing or punishing injustice. To the king they left honour, wealth, dominion, and the happy privilege of granting pardon ; the clergy were no longer to be enriched by superstition, but paid by the State, and the Church, thus rendered powerless for evil, was increased in dignity. These, and other wise and beneficent laws, were matured in the National Assembly.

Such was France towards the end of the year 1790, but variously reported in the world, and conveying a different impression, according to the character of the listeners ; kings, courtiers, and ministers were alarmed ; the clergy were incensed ; whilst the hearts of philosophers and innovators rejoiced. The sovereigns of Naples heard the news with the greater horror and indignation, as they were related to the Bourbons of France, and the two queens were sisters. They were at that time in the palace of Vienna, where the Emperor Leopold, who was already roused to anger by the rebellions in Belgium, communicated to them his designs ; for, though inclined to promote the welfare of his subjects, he desired it should be accepted as a gratuitous concession on the part of the sovereign, and, therefore, he had prepared an army to march to the aid of King Louis as soon as he should succeed in making his escape across the frontiers of France.

But unanimity was wanting among the kings of Europe, for while the theories of the French Revolution were applicable to every people, the policy and character of the ruling powers essentially differed. England rejoiced in the troubles of her rival ; Spain was languishing under a feeble and pusillanimous monarch ; Prussia was bargaining with the empire about the price of a larger

share of Poland ; Russia was engaged in a war with the Turks ; and Italy, in an impoverished condition, was preparing endless calamities for herself by vain hopes and aspirations. Piedmont, indeed, agitated by the commotions of a country so near as France, and perceiving that the inhabitants of some districts in a remote part of Savoy were inclined to rebel, increased and organized her army, and Naples, burning with the same passions as her queen, made ready for war and vengeance.

The time was, however, unpropitious, for the military force of the State had degenerated. The census numbered 4,800,000 Neapolitans, but none among them were disposed for war either by nature or habits. The barons had forgotten the use of arms, and, only attached to the king from their love of pleasure and grandeur, were so enervated that they turned away from every generous exertion. The clergy were opposed to the government, and indifferent to the troubles of the king, though hostile to the Revolution in France, and sharing the common dangers. The resolution of the law courts wavered, from the uncertain results of coming events ; the lawyers secretly supporting the government, but appearing to submit on compulsion, in order to obtain present advantages, without future risk. Philosophers, patriots, and those who looked to improvements in the State, admired the theories of the Revolution, but, accustomed to see useful reforms emanate from the monarch, deprecated the violence which would subvert the monarchy. The mass of the people were attached to the king, and only knew as much of the Revolution in France as was communicated to them by the great nobles in their district, and by the priests in the confessionals and pulpits, and therefore believed the French to be impious, cruel incendiaries, murderers, and the oppressors of the people.

The Neapolitan army consisted of 24,000 infantry and cavalry, half foreigners and half natives, ill composed, and worse disciplined ; and there were no means of increasing their numbers, except by the usual routine of forced levies made by the twofold despotism of royalty and feudalism ; nor could they be trained, nor taught obedience, because they had none to instruct them, and were without military ardour. The long peace, the abject spirit of their rulers, and the poverty of the exchequer, had, as I have already

stated, caused the neglect of the numbers and efficiency of the troops. The artillery, by the care of Pomereul, was the best-ordered part of the army, but it was only in its commencement ; there was an insufficiency both of arsenals and dépôts of arms ; the administration was corrupt ; the fortresses in decay ; and the traditions, or recollections of the past, and even military habits, were forgotten. The navy, however, though composed of only three men-of-war, several frigates, besides other smaller vessels—in all, thirty ships, was under the direction and management of officers, who were some of them good, and others first-rate, and was supplied with expert and daring seamen.

The finances, which for ten years had been in an impoverished condition, had been still further drained by expenses caused by the earthquake in Calabria, the two costly journeys of the sovereigns, and three marriages in the royal family ; they, therefore, could hardly meet the expenses of the State in a time of peace, still less provide for the exigencies of war ; nor was there any prospect of improvement, as the existing taxes, which scarcely affected the rich, bore heavily upon the poor ; and, while the former by their privileges and power were secure from the imposition of new, the latter were equally safe, from their inability to pay. Art therefore had ceased to flourish, industry was diminished, commerce languished, and agriculture, although favoured by the climate, remained in a primitive state owing to the ignorance of the times, and was starved by the bad regulations of the Government ; thus all the sources of public wealth were dried up or impoverished.

Sicily, who acknowledged and yielded her products to the same king, and constituted not less than a fourth part of the kingdom, was of little service either in providing men or treasure, as she refused to furnish soldiers, and the money raised by taxes within the island was wasted amidst the disorders of the finance and the Court.

Such were the men and such the state of affairs over which ruled Ferdinand iv., weak in courage and intellect, ignorant of government, fond of luxury and amusement, indifferent to glory and his kingdom, and therefore inclined to a life of indolence and pleasure. The queen, who governed rather than the king, was a prey to her various passions. The daughter of Maria Theresa, and

educated in the Austrian palace during a period of anxious solicitude caused by long wars, the sister of Antoinette, Queen of France, and of the two Emperors, Joseph and Leopold, she was ambitious of glory, eager to emulate their renown, vindictive and proud, and possessed of more than woman's daring. She was supported by General Acton, the all-powerful minister, a stranger to the country, as well as to the feelings of the Neapolitans, and who was ignorant and cunning, and well skilled in those arts which lead to fortune. The rest of the ministers or councillors tacitly obeyed his wishes, and thus the kingdom was abandoned through the midst of the approaching storms to the guidance of a weak king; of a queen, blinded by the vehemence of her passions; and of Acton, corrupted by selfish avarice.



## BOOK III.

### REIGN OF FERDINAND IV.

1791-1799.

#### CHAPTER I.

##### PREPARATIONS FOR WAR AND DEFENCE.

1791-1793.

WHEN the sovereigns of Naples left Vienna in the year 1791, they hoped to form a confederation in Italy for war against France; but on finding that other princes, though equally alarmed, were not equally irate, they reserved the necessary explanation of their scheme, until the times were mature, and were the more willing to submit to this alternative, as they were aware how much Austria deprecated a league of the armed forces of Italy. They therefore proceeded to Rome where the Pontiff awaited them. Pius vi. was handsome in person, and possessed agreeable manners, but was as fond of ornament, and as vain as a woman. The king and queen of Naples in their first journey in 1785, when their quarrel with Rome was at its height, had avoided the Pontifical States, and had even omitted those outward signs of courtesy usual between princes. But the revolution in France, and the common danger, had mitigated their wrath, and they had, through their representatives, agreed to conditions of amity, by which the gift of the China, and the accompanying ceremony were for ever abolished; the kings of the Two Sicilies ceased to be called vassals of the Holy Sec, and a large donative was to be conceded by them upon their coronation, as a pious offering to the holy apostles; the Pope was empowered to nominate the subjects of the king to ecclesiastical benefices; to appoint the bishops out of three candi-

dates proposed by the king, to grant dispensations in the case of impediments in matrimony, and to confirm the dispensations already granted by bishops.

This having been agreed upon, the monarchs of Naples approached the dominions of the Pontiff as friends, and with the respect due to his office; while his Holiness prepared to receive them with honours and favour. Arrived on the 20th April, they proceeded that same day to the Church of St. Peter, and thence by a private entrance to the apartments of Pius, where, the king enjoining silence on the guards and pontifical menials, entered the palace unexpectedly, and penetrated to the room where Pius was reposing upon an arm-chair, attired in his magnificent sacerdotal robes. This confidence, proceeding from such haughty princes, so gratified the Pope, that past grievances were forgotten, and from that time forth he became their sincere friend. The festivities lasted many days, and rich presents were interchanged. The two princesses of France, Adelaide and Victoria, the aunts of king Louis, were in Rome, having fled from the revolutions of their native land, and, by their narrative of the sufferings endured by their family, still further incensed the wrath of the king and queen.

Full of indignation, they arrived at Naples, where they were received amidst as sumptuous festivities as the impoverished state of the exchequer would admit. The countenances of the king and queen were austere, and portentous of approaching severities, while the spectators, both those who disliked and those who were inclined to favour the new doctrines of France, saw no real sign of pleasure in these celebrations. The rejoicings were, therefore, confined to the populace, with whom the anticipation of evil does not often disturb present amusements. After some days had elapsed, consultations on matters of state were held in the palace; and although the councillors were many, their decision was unanimous, and agreed with what had been predetermined by the queen: war with France and a strict surveillance of their Neapolitan subjects. The ministers divided the care for the execution of these projects. Additional ships of war were collected, and the arsenals supplied with wood, cables, and various metals procured both at home and abroad; cannons were cast, gun car-

riages manufactured, besides ammunition waggons and camp equipage; the armouries were increased, and new arms forged day and night. The firemen were organized into military companies, and employed to manufacture powder and rockets; uniforms, harnesses, and shoes arrived from all parts of the kingdom; large bodies of infantry were raised by conscription upon the feudal proprietors, and many volunteers offered their services for the levy *en masse*. Even vagabonds were admitted into the army, and prisoners were taken from the dungeons and galleys, and converted into soldiers; fresh corps of Swiss and Dalmatians accepted the pay of Naples, besides foreigners of rank, such as the princes of Hesse Philipstadt, of Würtemberg, and Saxony, all three of royal blood; priests, friars, and missionaries preached from their pulpits, and instilled in the confessionals, hatred against France. Thus every art, every faculty of the mind or labour of men's hands, as well as their persons, were alike made subservient to this project of war, an object as repugnant to the feelings as foreign to the habits of the Neapolitan people.

The government next provided by open as well as secret measures for the internal security of the kingdom. The police appointed a commissary in every *rione* of the city as inspector and judge, with subordinate officers and men; and over all, was placed the Chevalier Luigi de Medici, with the ancient title of Regent of the Vicaria: he was a young man of a designing yet bold character, and ambitious of place and power. Other agents were appointed as secret spies over the actions and thoughts of the subjects; some in public places and others in private houses. The queen conducted these affairs herself, and held conferences with the spies at midnight in a saloon of the palace called "Oscura" (the dark). This degrading office was dignified by the name of loyalty, and was not disdained by magistrates, priests, and nobles, among which last was for the first time suspected, Fabrizio Ruffo, prince of Castelcicala: possessed of an independent fortune, he was not tempted to evil deeds by want, and the path of ambition was open before him; but it was supposed that his natural depravity induced him to prefer this vocation. The clergy, after the disasters which had befallen the Church in France, hoped to recover their lost power, by becoming props and companions of despotism. The king nomi-

nated men full of ardour and zeal to sixty-two bishoprics which happened to fall vacant; he restored the national education to the care of ecclesiastics, and gave tokens to priests and monks of the sincerity of his friendship. Philosophers and men of learning were more than any class of men exposed to the displeasure of the Government, and to the machinations of spies, from the erroneous opinion entertained that the French Revolution was the work of philosophy and of books, rather than of necessity and the spirit of the age: a mischievous notion, which, as long as it continued, and even to the present day, has entailed serious calamities on the most estimable men, and has deprived the Government and the priesthood of the powerful aid of genius. In Sicily the works of Filangieri were forbidden and were burnt; Pagano, Cirillo,<sup>1</sup> Delfico,<sup>2</sup> and Conforti were looked upon with suspicion and watched; the reforms in the state ceased entirely, and those already effected were repented of; foreign books and newspapers were prohibited; the coteries of the queen were at an end; the meetings of men of letters forbidden; and a shelter was even refused to French refugees, though hostile to the Revolution, because they raised a scandal and caused disquiet by their accounts of what was passing in France. The whole appearance of the city was changed, and universal gloom succeeded the calmness of repose.

Public matters having been thus disposed of, the Government waited coming events in Europe. England, Holland, and Prussia, demanded from Austria the cessation of the war in the East, and peace was promised; while Russia and the Porte, when likewise petitioned, allowed their animosity to subside. The Emperor Leopold, who was most violent against France, proceeded to Italy,

<sup>1</sup> *Cirillo*, a celebrated botanist and physician, professor of botany at the university in Naples, and afterwards professor of medicine; born 1754, died on the scaffold 1799.

<sup>2</sup> *Melchior Delfico*, born 1744 at Teramo, died 1835; the pupil of Antonio Genovese in philosophy and political economy, he wrote on the importance of the militia, on the evils existing in his native province, on the Tavoliere of Puglia, on Roman Juris-

prudence, &c. In 1806, he sat in the Council of State in Naples, under Joseph Bonaparte, and composed most of the administrative, financial, and judiciary laws planned at that time. Most of his life was, however, spent in retirement and study, and he continued in favour with the Government under both the Bourbon and French kings. He retired to Teramo in 1833, and was visited there by King Francis before his death, which occurred in his ninety-second year.

from whence, after a secret conference with the ambassadors of Louis, he wrote to the king on the 20th May, to be prepared for the invasion of France ; which would be entered from Flanders by thirty-five thousand Germans, from Alsace by fifteen thousand, by as many Swiss on the road through Lyons, by more than as many Piedmontese through Dauphiné, and by twenty thousand Spaniards from the Pyrenees. Prussia would act as the ally of Austria, and England remain neutral. A manifesto was prepared by the Bourbons of Naples, Spain, and Parma, and signed by the members of the royal family of France who had escaped, intended to demonstrate the justice of the war. King Louis was to remain passive, awaiting these movements, and ready to assist them, either secretly or openly, by the forces at his disposal. But Louis, fearing lest an invasion should render the partisans of liberty furious, determined on a measure of greater precaution ; to escape from Paris, seek shelter at Montmedy, where General Bouillé had collected the most loyal of the troops, and from thence, his person being in safety, attack France by foreign armies, supported by his own troops, the refugees and his adherents, whom he believed more numerous and strong than they really were. The route, the time, and the signals for flight being concerted, the king left the palace in disguise, accompanied by the queen, the Princess Elizabeth, and the royal children, led by the hand of Madame de Tourzel, who, under the assumed name of Madame Korff, pretended to be travelling with her children, and that the queen and princess were her female attendants, the king her servant, and three of the body-guard in disguise, her couriers or menials. At the same time, the king's brother, with his wife, fled by another route, and speedy messengers were sent to foreign sovereigns to inform them of their flight. The following morning, the departure of the king was known in Paris, and the Assembly, pretending that he had been carried off by the enemies of France, decreed that he should be detained ; but rejoicing to see themselves delivered from their greatest obstacle, they desired his escape. Providence, however, ordained a better destiny for France ; for foreign and native troops, the weakness inherent in a new State, the division of parties, and despotism, would have probably succeeded in destroying, in a short time, the marvellous labours of the past two years, and the hopes of the cen-

tury, and subjected the people of France once again to a tyranny. The injuries inflicted by revolutions are delusive, because immense at the moment; but they are not so great as they appear, as, though violent, they are temporary.

The Queen and King of Naples were rejoicing in the escape of the royal family of France, when they learned by other letters, that they had been discovered at Varennes, and reconducted as prisoners to Paris, where they were guarded by soldiers. The sovereigns, leagued together for the invasion of France, did not however resign their hopes; the Emperor Leopold, the King of Prussia, the Elector of Saxony, and the Count d'Artois, met at Pilnitz, and published an edict in the name of the two first, which ran thus:—"Social order being completely subverted in France, the monarchy insulted and the king a prisoner, it becomes imperative on sovereigns to restore the peace of that kingdom and the liberty of the prince; numerous corps of Prussian and Austrian troops are collected in an army, and they invite other kings of the earth to join in the enterprise, to secure the safety of their own kingdoms, and vindicate the dignity of the crown." Gustavus III., king of Sweden, burning with indignation, and covetous of glory, declared himself ready and eager to accept the challenge, and impatient of delay. The new statute for France had been completed in September 1791, and the king, now set at liberty, went to the Assembly, greeted by the shouts of the populace as in times of prosperity; the powers he received by the statute restored him to his royal state, after the ignominy of being detained prisoner; trusting to time, therefore, for better things, as well as to the fickle temper of the French people, and to a new assembly, he stopped the movements of the foreign armies. Just as the republican party were increasing so rapidly as to alarm even the most ardent friends of freedom in the constituent assembly, the Count de Mirabeau died in the vigour of his age and intellect. With views as favourable to liberty as were compatible with the times, he had perceived the violence of the Jacobins, and united himself with the king to oppose the project of a republic, unsuitable to a people long inured to servitude, and who had neither the vigour of a young nation, nor the wisdom of mature civilisation. But Mirabeau, who understood human nature well, and comprehended the spirit of the age, and who desired all

possible liberty for France, was now dead ; and the ambition of the people for power awakened by two years of revolution, and which the Legislative Assembly was unable to contain, vented itself in clubs, and principally in that of the Jacobins, where all manner of political questions were discussed : elections, division by provinces, the office of president, besides other offices, the tribune, decision by vote, publicity. Nothing but the authority of law was wanting to impart to these meetings the force of a representative assembly ; but they compensated for this defect by their numbers, violence, and the approbation of the people. The Jacobins voted for a popular form of government, and the other clubs were not far behind-hand in their wishes ; while the Legislative Assembly, a king who had been so often vanquished, and a new statute which had not yet been established, were but feeble barriers to the accomplishment of their desires.

In reply to the circulars of Louis, containing his consent to the new statute of France, the king of Naples declared he would suspend his belief until the king was free, and the rest of the European monarchs answered in the same tenor, though varied in expression according to their different interests and policy. The king of Piedmont alone, terrified by so near a conflagration, and his foolish expectation of conquering France already turned to fear, proposed an Italian league to the princes of Italy, to prevent the entrance of French soldiers and revolutionary doctrines. All acceded, except Venice and the Imperial States of Lombardy, as the House of Austria was more afraid of a united Italy than of revolutionized France. This prevented the proposal taking effect, and each separate Italian state trusted for safety to its own wisdom, or rather to chance. Meantime, the Emperor Leopold, who by nature was averse to war, and had only taken up arms in the first burst of indignation, being in reality more inclined than any king, or rather alone among kings, in his desire to promote the welfare of his people, sent back to their former quarters the army he had assembled. The Empress of Russia, at peace with the Ottoman Porte, had no intention to commence another war. Prussia was silenced ; Spain supine like her monarch, and England at peace ; therefore the rage of the Queen of Naples, and the warlike impulses of King Gustavus, were powerless against France. The

French people might perhaps have been able to cope with republican opinions, and have established a settled government, had they not been disturbed by two political factions, more fierce even than Jacobinism,—the refugees and the clergy. The former (whom I shall call emigrants, adopting the name while relating the events of French history) were assembled in great numbers and in warlike array on the two frontiers of the Rhine and of Piedmont, and threatened the safety of the kingdom. The majority composed of nobles, not true citizens of France nor faithful servants of the king, and neither warriors nor brave men, but thirsting for privilege and favour, had fled from the new order of civil equality, and, under the ill-assumed name of loyalty, sighed for the return of a prodigal and despotic monarchy. The first emigration took the country by surprise, and was tolerated; but when their numbers increased so as to form two armies supplied with arms and money, led by skilful officers and princes of the blood-royal, the legislative assembly became alarmed and indignant, and invited them to return home. The property of the contumacious was taxed, and they were threatened with personal punishment; but invitations and threats proved fruitless, and they continued hovering on the frontiers, ready to commence a conflagration, which they hoped would spread throughout France. They misrepresented the most patriotic intentions, excited foreign potentates to war, and endangered the life of the king, whose name they used as an honourable pretext to cover their infamous practices. The clergy were divided between those who objected to take the oath to the statute, and those who accepted it; the majority belonged to the first, and were the most untainted of their order. The church lands were first sequestrated, then confiscated. Two briefs from Rome and the Pope's effigy were burnt in mockery, and priests were insulted and injured; while they, on their side, went about rousing the consciences of believers, and urging them to arm. Louis adhered to the emigrants because he was a king, and to the priests because he was devout.

Such was the state of Europe in the year 1791. In the beginning of the ensuing year, the Emperor Leopold died, and was succeeded by his son Francis. In the same month died Gustavus III., king of Sweden, murdered by his nobles; but as the authors of



this conspiracy were undiscovered, the act was imputed to the Jacobins. The death of Leopold was lamented, while suspicion followed that of Gustavus; and the world was reminded of the French club, the propaganda, and the legion of tyrant-slayers, as well as of a saying in the Assembly, "To the king who shall send us war, we shall send liberty;" with other actions or words portending destruction to princes. The police in Naples, therefore, increased their vigilance; and in order to improve the system of espionage, the names of the streets and numbers of the houses were inscribed in marble tablets, at all times a useful regulation in a large city. Ten thousand condemned persons, and twelve thousand prisoners in the dungeons of Naples and Castellamare, causing some alarm, a great number were removed to the penal islands of Lampedusa and Trémiti. The new regent of the Vicaria made a profit out of the cast-off clothes and deposits of money left by those condemned to the galleys, whose guilt was proved upon the information of spies, the inquisitorial researches of the *scrivani*, and the sentence of the regent himself. At first, only the lowest of the populace, men of infamous character, or felons, suffered this punishment; until the people, having become accustomed to the sight, and submissive to the exercise of despotic power, had learned to tolerate it with patience, when the police did not fear to use equal license in the punishment of innocent persons. Real crime was the consequence of suspicion where offences did not exist. Those very Neapolitans, admirers of the French theories, who had been shortly before consulted for their wisdom on the reforms in the State, were now watched and suspected, and therefore met in secret to discuss the events in France; not, indeed, from any hope of near or immediate benefit, but as an exercise of reason, and to enjoy an ideal bliss in the future; but for this innocent amusement they were obliged to use the duplicity and mystery of crime. Delighted with the French statute of 1791, and with the declaration of the rights of man, besides all the philosophical sentiments which adorned that charter where the universal desire for equality before the laws is distinctly laid down, they ordered a printer, in whom they could confide, to prepare upwards of two thousand copies, with fresh types, at a great expense. They did not, however, proceed further, for fear succeeding boldness, they only dis-

tributed a few copies by night in the streets of the city ; while in a spirit of youthful defiance, they dropped two in the apartments of the queen ; but the greater number were concealed in sacks of flour, and thrown into the sea among the rocks of Chiatamone. Two young nobles, attired as porters, took the sacks on their backs just after sunset (to avoid daylight and the night watch), and passing through the most populous parts of the city, carried them out of Naples, and deposited them in the place designated. They were applauded by their comrades as if they had saved the Republic ; but, meanwhile, their audacity, and the printing of these papers, increased the rage and suspicion of the rulers. Such were the first sparks of that civil conflagration which has never since been extinguished.

The affairs of France becoming worse through the evil agency of the emigrants, clergy, and Jacobins, political parties, the position of the king and the people became more desperate. Men of great energy had arisen in the midst of these civil convulsions, but discord had torn asunder the elements of force in the State. Dumouriez, exhausted by opposition, resigned the office of minister, by an act of easy but ignoble virtue. La Fayette, a soldier of liberty and a French chevalier, was stopped midway in his career, when, after the tumults of the 20th June, he came to Paris, intending to save the monarchy ; while Bailly, Condorcet, and other virtuous men, continued in the track of the doctrinaires, then feebly supported. Pethion and many others capable of rousing, were impotent to direct the rage of the people. The king was patient rather than intrepid, possessed of passive virtues, high-minded but indolent ; and the queen thoughtless and petulant, was agitated by the desire for vengeance. Law, the throne, the people, religion, words once revered as sacred, had not wholly lost their ancient prestige, but the man was wanting who could fit them to the temper of the times ; for Mirabeau was dead, and Bonaparte had not yet appeared upon the stage. Hence arose calamities and errors. The king, suspicious of poison, ate in private with his family such simple food as he could trust, and for many months endured the greatest hardships. Meantime he sent secretly to the camps of the emigrants, and to the sovereigns of Austria and Prussia, to solicit the aid of their armies for his liberation. War

was then declared against France. The Prussian and Austrian armies approached ; and the queen, measuring the road they had to traverse, foretold the day of their arrival in Paris with ill-concealed joy.

Changes and perils in the city and the royal palace were constantly occurring, and of various kinds, followed by lassitude and waste of time and thought. La Fayette repeated his offer to save the king by flight ; and Marshal Luckner, a foreigner in the French service, came to Paris on the part of the enemy, to secure his escape. But the royal family were obstinate ; the queen declared she preferred death to the shame of living under an obligation to the constitutionalist, La Fayette ; and the king yielding to her desire, rudely rejected the proffered kindness. Their pride, perhaps, saved the life, and certainly the reputation, of the general ; for such were the circumstances of the time, that France or the monarchy must have fallen. Amidst these conflicting passions, the edict of the Prussian Brunswick appeared, which, while protesting against the moderate tone of the manifesto formerly issued by the sovereigns, designated all France as a faction, and asserted that the king alone had the wisdom to devise, and the lawful power to concede reforms in the State ; he abrogated all the acts of the three past years, and insisted, as if secure of victory, that the revolutionary armies should be disbanded, the assemblies and clubs dissolved ; that the Austrians and Prussians should be received as friends, and he called on the adherents of the king to join them, and his enemies to fly, or sue for pardon. Meanwhile, numerous troops of emigrants, the last in the field though the first in their expressions of indignation, and the instigators of a civil and sanguinary war, were following in the rear of the German columns. This edict, which, though the terms of his demand had been exceeded, was nevertheless grateful to the king, who saw the perils threatening his dynasty, drove the people to desperation. Some dreaded the royal vengeance, others despaired of forgiveness, others again mourned the fate of their country, and all were thrown into alarm and excitement. Some again, more discerning and bold spirits, rested their hope of safety in reducing all passions into one, and guiding the popular impulses in one direction, and therefore held up as a rallying-point their common hatred of the king.

It is unnecessary, in a history of Naples, to give an account of all that passed in France ; and it is therefore here sufficient to remind the reader, that on the 10th August 1792, the king was attacked in his palace, which was taken and burned by battalions of the people ; that with his wife, children, and sister, he escaped in haste to the Legislative Assembly, where they remained in concealment in a miserable room, from whence they heard the decree read, which declared Louis fallen from his throne. The world beheld in wonder the palace of the kings of France besieged and taken, not by enemies in war, but by subjects, who, rising in a transport of fury, and in the name of liberty, burned the escutcheons and effigies of a race of powerful and venerated kings. Amidst the conflagration Louis escaped, followed by the queen, with the little dauphin in her arms, while the Princess Elizabeth carried his young and tender daughter ; they were without an escort, and their heads bowed with sorrow, or from their anxiety to hide their tears. The royal family were conveyed prisoners to the Luxembourg, and thence to the Temple, and the State being without a fixed government was ruled by factions. General La Fayette, declared an enemy of his country for having resisted the first impulses of unbridled liberty, was refused obedience by the troops, and escaped into Belgium, where he was thrown into prison by the Austrians. Others who had supported the first ideas of the Revolution fell under suspicion, and, menaced with death, fled their country ; for to them had succeeded Danton, Marat, Robespierre, and other such maniacs, who in civil commotions spring from the dregs of the people. Dumouriez returned to favour, because the enemy of the people's enemy, La Fayette ; he was placed at the head of the French army, which numbered a hundred and twenty thousand soldiers distributed along the frontiers, but who, with their confidence in their leaders weakened, were insubordinate and stubborn, and were opposed to a hundred and thirty-two thousand Germans. Fortune smiled on the German arms. The fortress of Longwy, and soon afterwards Verdun, fell into their hands. The Austrian army laid siege to the fortresses in the north ; while sixty thousand Prussians, and crowds of emigrants, were marching upon Paris. Amidst the agitation caused by the approach of the enemy, and the fears and suspicions of the people, many and dreadful were the atrocities perpetrated in

France. The unhappy family of the Bourbons confined in the Temple witnessed part of the slaughter ; they heard the dying groans of those massacred in the adjoining prisons, and their last ray of hope was foreign succour. But Brunswick was heavy and slow in his movements, his king impatient, the emigrants false to their promises, and the allied sovereigns differed in policy and views ; the result was, discord and inaction in the German camp ; while in the French camp, the genius of Dumouriez, the youthful ardour of his troops, and the cheering influence of liberty, compensated for defective numbers and want of success. The Prussians, however, reached Châlons ; but there, disheartened by disease, by their defeat at the battle of Valmy, and by the inclement season, they relieved France from their presence. The rest of the Austrian and Prussian troops, engaged on various parts of the frontier, hastened their retreat. Francis and Frederic-William, with altered plans, returned to Vienna and Berlin. The first league against France was dissolved, and the progress of the Revolution secured.

The last hope of the unhappy family had fallen. The Jacobins, now all-powerful, prepared for the trial of Louis. Ancient respect for their kings, the virtues of the present sovereign, and his calm demeanour, which appeared like a serene conscience, pleaded in his favour. His actions, and the name of king, were his accusers. Disorder reigned in the discussion, legal justice was set aside, and the rank of the accused forgotten ; such was the climax to which matters had arrived, that the king's life or death hung on the question, "Which would be most advantageous to France?" It was decided by the majority of a single vote that his death would be of greatest service, and Louis lost his life on a scaffold. The deaths of the queen and that of the Princess Elizabeth followed, both of them condemned by the iniquitous sentences of a ferocious tribunal. The dauphin perished from want in the dungeon, and his sister was exchanged as a ransom for some French prisoners in Germany. Upon the arrival of these dreadful news, the Court of Naples forbade every public or private celebration of the Carnival ; and after many days spent in grief, the royal family went in mourning to the cathedral, to weep and pray for the dead ; even the king followed the chase less frequently, and in private. France, meantime, was organized as a republic, but the sovereigns of

Naples refused to acknowledge the citizen Makau, who came thither as ambassador, and even interfered to prevent the Ottoman Court from accepting the citizen Semonville in a similar capacity.

Further, the king communicated a note to the governments of Sardinia and Venice to this effect :—" Whatever may be the fortunes of the Germans on the Rhine, it is important for Italy to form an armed barrier upon the Alps, to prevent the French, if conquered, turning upon us in desperation or revenge ; or, if successful, attacking us from the love of conquest, and disturbing the peace of the Italian Governments. If the Sicilies, Sardinia, and Venice, were to form a league for mutual defence, the most high pontiff would concur in the holy enterprise, and lesser potentates, whose states are intermediate, voluntarily or on compulsion, will follow the move ; thus a force will be assembled capable of defending Italy, and giving her weight and authority in the wars and congresses of Europe. This note is intended to propose and form a confederation, in which the king of the Sicilies, the last exposed to danger, offers himself as the first in the struggle, and reminds every Italian prince, that the hope of escaping singly has ever been the ruin of Italy." This wise and courageous proposal had been accepted by the king of Sardinia, though refused by the Senate of Venice, when the king of the Sicilies suddenly withdrew ; for, in the interval, a large French fleet, with sails spread and colours flying, had anchored in the Bay of Naples. The Government, informed that several men-of-war belonging to the Republic were sailing in the Tyrrhenean Sea, had already repaired the ancient strand batteries, constructed new, and provided the port more amply with arms and men. Meantime Admiral La Touche led his fleet of fourteen men-of-war into the Bay of Naples as into a friendly or unarmed port ; he dropped the anchors of the larger vessel within half a gun-shot from the Castel dell' Uovo, and anchored the other vessels drawn up in line of battle across the port. An immense crowd were assembled to witness the spectacle, and the Neapolitan soldiers and fleet were on the eve of an engagement, when the king sent to the admiral to demand the cause of his arrival, and of these demonstrations, and to remind him of the ancient treaty by which only six men-of-war were permitted to enter the port. La Touche replied by sending a messenger of

high rank (as he was honoured in his passage by continual salutes from the fleet), who, in writing and by word of mouth, asked the reason the king had refused to receive their ambassador, and why he had acted as the enemy of France with the Sultan ? He further demanded reparation for these offences, or war.

The king called a council, and although the preparations for resistance were superior to the force of the enemy, and would have obliged La Touche either to make his escape, or submit to defeat, the queen, declaring the kingdom to be full of Jacobins, entreated for peace, and was seconded by the terrified members of the Council. The king accordingly granted their request, and immediately by word and letters signified his acceptance of the minister Makau, his disapprobation of the practices which had been carried on with the Porte, recalled the Neapolitan ambassador at that Court to receive punishment, sent an ambassador to Paris, promised neutrality in the wars of Europe, and consented to a reconciliation with France. That day the first act of cowardice was committed, suggested by groundless fears. La Touche immediately weighed anchor, but, overtaken by a tempest, he again sought shelter in the Bay of Naples, where he asked leave to restore his battered ships, to renew his supply of water, to take in fresh provisions, and to manœuvre in the port—requests which might be expected from an ally, but were displeasing to the Government of Naples, though they could not be refused. Many of the Neapolitan youth, enthusiastic for the new doctrines, held communications with the officers of the fleet, with Makau and La Touche ; and, as at that time it was the policy of the French Government to incite the people to liberty, and thus associate them in their dangers and struggles, the admiral inflamed their youthful minds still more, and advised them to hold secret meetings. It happened that, at a supper given on this occasion, amidst the intoxication of hopes and wishes, the Neapolitans hung at their breasts a little red cap, at that time the symbol of the Jacobins in France. The Government of Naples was informed of these offences, but delayed punishment until the departure of their unwelcome guests. They hurried on the repair of their vessels, supplied them with provisions, and ordered the purest water of the Carmignano to be sent to the fleet, and conveyed as far as the end of the mole.

The French weighed anchor, and the rage which had been pent up, now burst forth in present acts of vengeance, and preparations for more. Many of those who had held intercourse with the French, and others accused of treason, were seized in the night and conveyed to prison; their fate was kept secret, so that it was commonly reported, and believed by their relatives and friends, that they had been murdered in the lowest dungeons of the fortresses, or sent into distant castles in the island of Sicily; it was only afterwards known that they had been placed in solitary confinement in the subterranean dungeons of Sant' Elmo, living on prison fare, sleeping on the bare ground, each in a separate cell. They were all of them nobles or men of learning, accustomed to the luxuries usual in their station, or to the tranquillity of a life of study. These ferocious orders were executed with most ferocious zeal by inhuman men, whose names will appear in the course of this history. The queen, suspecting that the French ambassador might have a list of the numbers and names of the supposed conspirators, caused his papers to be stolen by one Luigi Custode, who was in her pay in the house of Makau. Accused of this theft, and brought to trial, he was acquitted by the judges, and rewarded by the Court. Neither names nor proofs of a conspiracy were found among the papers, and nothing was produced but a note of the failure of the promised neutrality on the part of the Neapolitan Government. The king nevertheless instituted a tribunal for the trial of persons accused of treason, called the Junta of State, and composed of seven judges and a procurator-fiscal, Basilio Palmieri, notorious for his rigorous dealings; the judges were the Chevalier de Medici, the Marquis Vanni, and the president of the court, Giaquinto, who all of them afterwards attained celebrity for the iniquitous deeds they sanctioned or committed. The prisons were increased in number, the Junta and the police secretly arranged the *procès*,<sup>1</sup> and the whole city was in terror.

The queen now meditated a greater and more generous revenge on France, by a declaration of war. The measures already taken

<sup>1</sup> *Processo*, or *Procès*, a term which has no English equivalent, as it includes the inquiry, accusation, defence, and pleadings,

all given in writing; everything, in short, except the final sentence.



had increased the recruits for the army to thirty-six thousand, and the fleet numbered a hundred and two vessels of various dimensions, carrying six hundred and eighteen cannon, and manned by crews of eight thousand six hundred seamen. The labour at the armories and arsenals was unceasing; the new levies were continued and even facilitated by the famine, which was little less severe in 1793 than it had been in 1764, nor were the measures of prevention in any way improved. Time and experience fail to teach rulers the wisdom of devising other means to obtain their ends besides those of force and authority; private advantage and free trade can alone extinguish monopolies, bring plenty into the markets, and tranquillize the minds of the people, who, when excited by their fears, lay waste the land, empty the granaries, and reduce themselves from abundance to destitution. Amidst the difficulties in procuring provisions, the most wretched of the populace enlisted in the army, most of them from the metropolis, where living is expensive, owing to luxury and vice. A new legion was therefore raised in Naples, called the Spontooneers, from the weapon, the spontoon,<sup>1</sup> carried by the soldiers, and intended for use in inaccessible places, either where the ground was covered with wood, or behind embankments, or when the men were formed in squares, against horse, or for a charge, as with the bayonet; the scarcity of muskets and the ignorance of military leaders suggested the use of this weapon, so ill suited to modern warfare. The spontooneers were either raised by conscription, or were volunteers enlisted by decree from among the Lazzaroni. The term Lazzàro<sup>2</sup> was first introduced under the Spanish viceroys, when the Government was rapacious, when the feudal lords had resigned the use of arms, when their vassals were averse to war, and the inhabitants of the city degraded by domestic servitude, when soldiers were scarce, or removed to a distance, artisans or workmen still fewer, and when there were no agriculturists, and an immense population sought subsistence by crime. Among these vast numbers of degraded human beings, many lived like cattle, half clothed and houseless, sleeping in cellars during the winter, and, from the mild climate, in the open air in sum-

<sup>1</sup> *Spontoon*. A short pike, used in ancient warfare.

<sup>2</sup> *Lazzàro*, or *Lazzarone*, a Spanish word, signifying a man in destitution and rags, or a leper.

mer. They were called Lazzàri or Lazzaroni, an epithet taken from the language of their haughty rulers, who, having caused our misery, turned it into derision, and immortalized it by a name. No man was born a Lazzàro ; the Lazzàro who turned to any art or trade lost the name, and whosoever lived the animal life I have described became one. They were only to be found in the metropolis, and here, though numerous, they were not included in the census with the rest of the population, as their savage and vagrant life prevented the possibility of taking any account of them. They were supposed to be about thirty thousand, poor, impudent, greedy, insatiable in plunder, and ready to join in any riot. The viceroy, in his edicts, was accustomed to call the Lazzaroni by the honourable name of people ; he listened to their complaints, and the demands laid before him by their orators, who were deputed to speak with him in the palace. They were permitted on a feast-day in every year to elect their chief by acclamation in the market-place ; with this chief the viceroy held conferences, at one time pretending a desire to settle with him about the tribute levied on goods brought to market, at another pledging the Lazzaroni to support the authority of the Government. The celebrated Tommaso Aniello was chief of the Lazzaroni when, in the year 1647, the city broke into open rebellion. By disciplining several thousand of these low fellows, the legion of the spontooners added to the security of the public peace, while increasing the numbers of the army.

Having thus placed the kingdom in a state of preparation for war, the king next proposed to form an alliance with England, already the enemy of France ; and on the 20th July of that year, 1793, entered into a secret compact (as the treaty of neutrality just concluded with La Touche still continued), by which the King of Naples was to send four men of war, four frigates, and four lesser vessels, with six thousand soldiers, to join an equal number of vessels and soldiers from England, in the Mediterranean, and thus together form a fleet superior to that of the enemy, secure the dominion of the sea, and protect the commerce of the Two Sicilies. The powers leagued in war with Great Britain consented to this treaty, and Naples found herself included in the vast and interminable European confederations against France. In the midst of all these naval forces, light skiffs from Barbary

boldly navigating our seas, devastated our shores, seized on barks, and did much injury to commerce ; the captains of merchant vessels asked leave to carry arms, but the Government, who saw in every association a club of rebels, were afraid to provide them with the means of defence, and refused this advantageous offer. The Tunisians therefore continued their depredations, even in the vicinity of Procida.

## CHAPTER II.

WAR WITH FRANCE—PEACE—VIOLATION OF TREATIES—INDICTMENTS  
FOR TREASON.

1793—1798.

THE league with England was hardly concluded, before action commenced. Toulon, a French city and fortress, with arsenals, well-filled magazines, twenty men-of-war at anchor in the port, timber and materials for the construction of as many more, a large supply of heavy artillery, and plenty of arms, treasure, and men, was surrendered by treachery to the English, whose fleet was cruizing along the great roadstead. This occurred on the 24th August of the year 1793; and immediately Spaniards, Sardinians, and Neapolitans, with the contingent in men and ships promised by the treaty, hastened to assist in the spoil. The citizen Makau, as the representative of a powerful enemy, was ordered to quit Naples; he saw the fleet weigh anchor for Toulon, without a declaration of war or challenge sent to the Republic, and, indignant at the sight, started for France. He was accompanied by two ladies, of the name of Basville, who excited the commiseration and desire for revenge in the French people, by their grief for the loss of a father and husband, Ugo Basville, of whom they had been cruelly deprived by the hands of the people of Rome. Meanwhile, the Neapolitan forces set sail for Toulon, under the conduct of Marshal Fortiguerra, and of General de Gambs and Pignatelli; arrived at their destination, they were placed under the Spanish general, O'Hara, commander-in-chief during that campaign. The soldiers of the Republic hastened thither from all parts of France, while, on the other side, the stores and works of the fortress were increased. The allied troops served in rotation, and the Neapoli-

tans, who were not behind the rest, had the good fortune to distinguish themselves upon Mont Faraon, and in the defence of Malbousquette. They had occupied the city four months, yet, although there were perpetual skirmishings, the siege appeared hardly commenced in good earnest, when, on the 17th December, the batteries were unmasked from circumvallation to circumvallation, and the attack began ; the firing was most brisk and obstinate at the fort called Le Caire, which was protected by breastworks and cannon, and the English, who believed it impregnable, called it the second Gibraltar. But Napoleon Bonaparte, who was then making his first essay in arms as lieutenant-colonel and commander of the artillery in the siege, had so arranged the attacks that eight thousand shells fell in rapid succession within the area of the fort, and the works were destroyed or levelled to the ground by the shot from thirty twenty-pounders. In less than two days, or rather in the night of the 18th and 19th December, their boasted Gibraltar was taken, and the artillery which guarded it from the French, was turned against the allies.

As the fort of Le Caire projects into the sea, so as to skirt the lesser roadstead of Toulon, with a considerable part of the larger roadstead, and the canal which lies between the two, the allies were forced to remove their shipping from these waters, and to withdraw the soldiers into the city, in order not to expose them to certain capture. The English Admiral Hood hoisted the signal of retreat, the land troops took to flight, and the exterior forts of Malbousquette, Le Faraon, La Vallette, and La Malue, which had been taken by the Republicans without a struggle, added to the danger and confusion, by firing on the city. The English blew up Fort Poné by mines, but time and means were wanting for the destruction of the other forts, or the city ; the great magazine for the manufacture of powder caught fire, and thirteen vessels of the Republic were burned in the port ; it was night, and it rained heavily. In the midst of this scene of desolation the soldiers embarked (some of them being drowned in the hurry of departure), accompanied by such of the inhabitants of Toulon who, as partisans of England, or enemies of the Republic, were implicated in the plot by which the place had been betrayed to the allies. Horses, arms, tents, field-pieces, and some of the troops

who had been dilatory in their movements, or were incapacitated from wounds, fell a prey to the arms of the Republic. A violent tempest arose from the south, which caught the ships in the roadsteads, and the fleet only escaped the peril to which it was exposed, by the skill of the officers; while scattered in all directions, they were driven about for many days as chance directed, and sought shelter in different ports, distant from one another, and without the means of communication. Much time was lost collecting the men, implements, and baggage of the four nations, and meanwhile Naples was afflicted more even than the case warranted, as is usual where there is an indistinct report of some disaster having occurred. At last, on the 2d February 1794, the looked-for sails appeared, and it was then ascertained that two hundred Neapolitans were missing, dead, or wounded, and four hundred, with all the horses, had been taken prisoners; besides the loss of provisions, tents, arms, and standards, which had cost the treasury untold sums. Among the natives of Toulon who arrived at Naples, was General Count Maudet, who, when in command at Toulon, had voluntarily yielded the fortress committed to his charge, to the enemies of his country. These events raised the reputation of the Republic, while a name was mentioned for the first time, though without attracting much notice, which was soon afterwards destined to fill the world.

Those who arrived from Toulon, while relating or exaggerating facts, whether true or false, produced an alarming impression of the French power and of the war. The government stopped the gay celebrations of the carnival, and ordered prayers to be offered up in the churches, while, true to their promises and hopes of vengeance, they raised new conscripts and civic guards in the city, and encamped twenty battalions of infantry and thirteen squadrons of cavalry, with a train of artillery in the plain of Sessa, destined to assist the German armies in Lombardy. The people admired the piety of their sovereigns, and the soldiers their acts of seeming courage. The king, the queen, and the minister, General Acton, were often at the camp, exciting the men by their words, and promising them large rewards for valour, whilst the manœuvres of the shipping, and sham sea-fights, were witnessed in the Bay of Naples. England proposing to attack

Corsica, asked and received from us ships, arms, and soldiers, and although the enterprise proved a failure, the attempt was highly spoken of. Three regiments of cavalry with two thousand horse set out for Lombardy, under the Prince di Cutò, a choice which met with general approbation, because he was a native Neapolitan, whereas former expeditions, all of which had been unsuccessful, had been commanded by foreigners. We possessed a hundred and forty gunboats or bombketches, forty larger vessels, forty-two thousand troops of the line, and a militia composed of still greater numbers, while there was an abundant supply of stores. But such vast efforts, and continuing for so long a period, exceeded the means at the disposal of the ports and the allowance for the navy, as well as being disproportioned to the political condition of the kingdom; and helped to embarrass the exchequer, proving detrimental to arts and industry, and reducing whole families to penury. It appeared a miracle how so many expenses could be sustained, but it was explained by the assistance said to be afforded from the privy purse, which necessity and the resentment of the king had unclasped. In order to confirm the rumour, the queen assured those in whom she placed her confidence, and who publicly repeated her words, that she had sold or pawned her jewels, and that on gala days in the palace she appeared adorned by their counterfeits.

These tales were still circulating among the people, when the government by a new decree demanded subsidies or donations, which, as they were to be applied for the benefit of the nation, were called patriotic; every community and congregation, and many private individuals, gave largely, and their names were recorded to their honour, and to excite emulation in others. A tax of ten per cent. (and therefore called a tithe) was imposed by another decree upon the predial revenues, but with the exclusion of farmers on the royal domains, exchequer lands, and fiefs; the lands of the Church were subjected to the tax, and as, by the Concordat of 1741, the clergy only paid one-half upon the taxes which existed prior to that date, the last of their immunities was now abolished, and they were placed on a level with the Commons; though, to render this less obnoxious, the taxes levied upon ecclesiastics were called a loan, and inscribed in a separate book. By other decrees, a large amount of the church pro-

perty was sold for the benefit of the exchequer, and other property called allodium,<sup>1</sup> was set up for sale. One hundred and three thousand ducats monthly were imposed on the city of Naples alone, and a hundred and twenty thousand on the barons. After which the king issued an edict, declaring, "Whatever else shall be needed for the defence of the kingdom and the maintenance of tranquillity, shall be supplied from the assignments or surplus revenue of my house." The new taxes were burdensome, but as the object was great, the expense necessary, and the promises of the king liberal, no murmurs were heard; and they only served to strengthen the hatred against the French as the cause of these exactions. That same year, another royal decree commanded that churches, monasteries, and charitable institutions, should resign all their consecrated plate to the royal mint, except so much as was necessary for the performance of the divine ordinances; and that the citizens likewise should deliver over their plate, except the small quantity needed for use; to receive in return bank certificates, payable in a few years. Buried treasure was declared confiscated, and a fourth part awarded to the discoverer. This decree was called sumptuary, a word often applied to laws which increase the wealth of the treasury by imposing economy on the subject. Money was however given with liberality, the donors submitting to the decree in silence.

But this tacit acquiescence was converted into loud remonstrances when the people became aware that the government was robbing the national banks; the name given to seven *Caisses de Crédit*, which had become possessed of a capital of thirteen millions of ducats, by endowments, bequests, and commercial enterprise; public offices, private individuals, and the royal family themselves were in the habit of placing their money in these banks, which they believed secure, because guarded and guaranteed. A paper called a promissory note certified the deposit; the presentation of the notes produced immediate payment, and they circulated like cash, while far from losing in discount, they were at a premium when the commerce of the kingdom was most flourishing, from the

<sup>1</sup> In the law of England we have not properly allodium, which is the name by which the feudists abroad distinguish such

estates of the subject as are not holden of any superior.—Blackstone's *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, vol. ii. p. 60.



convenience and safety of carrying large sums in the compass of a small piece of paper. Money paid into court or in chancery was placed in the banks; bequests were paid in bank paper; much of the money of the kingdom, almost all belonging to the city, and at least twenty-four millions, the property of private individuals, was deposited in their coffers. But state necessity, the instincts of despotism, the ease with which the money could be obtained, while the theft could be concealed by fabricating fresh paper, and the hope of replacing the missing sum before it could be discovered; finally, the belief entertained by all absolute monarchs that the property as well as lives of their subjects belongs to them, were reasons enough for extending a rapacious hand towards these deposits. The spoliation went on quietly for some time; the paper, supported by credit, already exceeded the coin by many millions; and the paper currency suffered no depreciation in commerce, because the real state of matters was unsuspected. But on the discovery of the fraud, the depositors hastened eagerly and in crowds to claim payment, the coffers were quickly drained, and as cash payments were refused, confidence in the good faith of the banks was destroyed. Great as was the injury inflicted from the extensive relations of the banks, it was equalled by the clamour and panic which followed: "These are the treasures of the king," they exclaimed, "unburied for our sakes; these are the jewels of the queen, pawned or sold! these are the fruits of the economy and self-denial exhibited by the royal family for the defence and peace of the kingdom! their hypocritical talk of poverty and ostentatious display of generosity, all to enable them to carry on an infamous traffic with our substance! The new taxes already exceed the increased expenditure; and the king, the queen, and the minister Acton are enriching themselves by every turn of fortune!" With the usual inconsistency of the masses, they contradicted their preconceived notions, and passed from one extreme to another.

The Government, eager to devise a remedy, amalgamated the seven banks of the metropolis into one, under the name of the National Bank; they established small branch banks, and to guard against the extravagant rate of interest demanded by usurers, they degraded and punished many officers who had been

employed in the banks, for real or supposed frauds. Affairs, however, did not mend, and finding that their certificates were refused in commerce, the Government ordered that both the old and new notes should be accepted in private transactions, at their nominal value, thus inflicting an injury on the rights of all. Bills of exchange now for the first time were marked "*fuori banco*," to indicate that they bore an equal value in cash species, a custom which still prevails, though the origin is forgotten. The state of the bank becoming worse and worse, the notes circulated at a discount which increased to 85 per cent. Fifty millions of ducats had been purloined in hard cash, and the capitals of the seven banks having been thus destroyed, thirty-seven millions of the property belonging to private individuals had been abstracted, without apology or shame, as chance or circumstances rendered it convenient.

The financial laws continued without alteration from 1791 to 1799: But two administrative laws were passed, which, had they been executed, might have proved beneficial; by the first, every community was obliged to draw up a map or table indicative of their lands and produce; and by the other, the rental of the communal domains was fixed upon conditions advantageous to the tenants, and favouring those who were in poor circumstances. Nothing was done to advance legislation, commerce, science, or art, or to improve the economy of the state; for, instead of attending to the government or guidance of the kingdom, the rulers were only eager to maintain their absolute power and prepare for war. Thus, while their despotism increased, the laws were neglected.

Although hardly worthy of record, I must here mention a contest which arose, but soon terminated between the kings of Naples and Sweden, as it is alluded to in every history of this period. After the death of Gustavus III., the king his successor ruled over Sweden in the interests of the party who had murdered his brother; new conspiracies were therefore plotted, and the new king's life placed in peril. Baron d'Armfeldt, the Neapolitan ambassador, was among the conspirators, and his guilt being proved, the king of Sweden in courteous terms demanded him of the king of the Sicilies. The assassination of Gustavus, a prince inclined for war, and the bitter enemy of France, had been lamented by the royal

house of Naples, who, holding all concerned in his death Jacobins and supporters of the kings opposed to them, now afforded Baron d'Armfeldt facilities to escape into Austria. The king of Sweden indignantly appealed to the Courts of Europe in a manifesto of his rights, which he declared his determination to maintain. The king of Naples, neither intimidated nor abashed, answered by another manifesto. This scandalous contest was continued by the ministers of the respective courts, until the Swedish sovereign demanded reparation or war. But the first was not complied with, the latter never commenced ; and the whole affair was in time forgotten.

To the calamities of war, famine, scarcity, and turmoil, was added another disaster in the year 1794, more terrible, because one no precaution could avert. In the night of the 12th June, a violent earthquake shook the city, and a hollow and deep rumbling noise indicated an approaching eruption of Vesuvius. The inhabitants of the cities and towns at the foot of the mountain fled from their houses, waiting in the open air for the dawn of day, which broke calmly ; but at the summit of the volcano, a dense black cloud obscured the azure and glow of the sky, and, as the morning advanced, the noise increased, as well as the darkness and terror. Thus passed three days. On the night preceding the fourth, the 15th and 16th June, there came a report as from a hundred pieces of ordnance, and a fiery column was seen to rise from the side of the mountain, divide, and fall by its own weight, circulating round the declivity ; vivid and long flashes of lightning issuing from the volcano vanished in the sky, and balls of fire were hurled to great distances, the rumbling sound bursting out in tones of thunder. Flame rose above flame, for the crater of the volcano continued unchanged, and two streams of lava were formed, which first advanced rapidly and then moved slowly towards Resina and Torre del Greco. The population of these cities, 32,000 persons, stood gazing at the scene in grief and wonder. The town of Resina covers the site of the ancient Herculaneum, and Torre del Greco was originally built where the mountain meets the sea. Half was covered by a prior eruption, which had brought down so much matter as to form a promontory upon the ruins of the city. New houses had been built on that elevation, and the two cities, the high and the low, communicated by steep streets, formed in steps,

one part being at least eighty *braccia* above the other. The eruption of 1794 completed the work of destruction, leaving only the tops of a few buildings visible in the upper town to mark the calamity, and entirely covering the lower city, overwhelming all alike, high and low, and even the towers of the churches. Many of the fields around Resina, and a few of the buildings nearest the mountain were consumed; the lava only ceasing to flow after it had reached the further extremity of the town. The first stream which buried Torre del Greco entered the sea, drove back the waters, and left in their place a mass of basalt of sufficient magnitude to form a mole and roadstead, where small vessels could seek shelter from tempests. The two streams, bending with the fall or curvature of the land, sometimes met, and sometimes again divided into lesser rivulets; a convent containing three persons was surrounded, flight became impossible, and they all perished from suffocation caused by the intense heat. The road followed by the greater stream of lava was four miles in length, a distance which it traversed in three hours; the materials ejected by the mountain appearing greater than its whole dimensions.

Thus the night passed away. The morning hour struck, but the light of day had not dawned, for it was concealed by the thick and black shower of ashes which poured down like rain for many miles around the city. The appearance of continual night spread gloom throughout the metropolis, and, as is commonly the case, all turned for consolation to the resources of religion. Men and women of every age or condition with bare feet, dishevelled hair and ropes round their necks, as a sign of contrition, walked in processions from the city to the bridge of the Maddalena, where the image of St. Januarius is worshipped, which had been set up in remembrance of a supposed miracle during some former eruption, and is represented as commanding the volcano to cease. When the processions arrived on the spot, that composed of the upper classes uttered the usual prayers in a low voice, while the common people shouted a hymn, composed for the occasion in the Neapolitan dialect. Meantime the Cardinal Archbishop of Naples, followed by all the clergy in their sacerdotal robes, bearing the golden statue of the saint, and the phial containing his blood, stopped at the bridge, and turning the sacred image towards the

mountain, invoked the mercy of God in psalms. The calamities of nature, however, continued unabated. As the ashes, which were now heaped on the roofs and terraces of the houses, threatened to crush them by their weight, the municipal magistrates ordered that they should be removed, and, urged on by their fears, more even than by commands, the people immediately set to work to clear them from their houses into the streets below. Night stole on unperceived, and was only recognised by the sound of the bells which were rung as usual; after some hours the darkness became so intense, that the city, which was not then lighted by lamps, was like a close room, and the citizens, who did not venture to enter their houses, from the fear of earthquakes, stood bewailing themselves in the streets or squares, and waiting the last abyss of misery. The following day, the third since the darkness commenced, it sensibly diminished, though the light of day could still be only feebly distinguished, the sun appearing as at its rising, pale and dim; the shower of ashes was less copious, and the fire and thunder from the volcano ceased. This apparent security, the fatigues they had undergone, and the consequent lassitude, induced the inhabitants to return to their houses; but in the middle of the night they were awakened and terrified by a fresh earthquake; and whilst the ground still trembled beneath them, they heard a crash, as of the fall of many houses, and each city feared its neighbour lay in ruins.

At daybreak the truth was discovered; for the mountain was seen deprived of its summit, which had been swallowed up in the vortex of the volcano, causing the earthquake and noise; Mount Vesuvius had before towered above Mount Somma, but they had now changed their relative positions, and the latter soared highest. The truncated mountain remained of a conical form. The height was three thousand metres (metre = 39·371 English inches, about nine thousand two hundred Neapolitan *palmi*), the base elliptical, and five miles in circumference; the greatest thickness of the lava, eleven metres (forty *palmi*); the land covered for five hundred *moggia*,<sup>1</sup> with liquid fire, and the mole which projected twenty-five metres into the sea, was a fourth part of a mile in width, and rose six metres above the waves. Thirty-three men, and four thousand

<sup>1</sup> *Moggia*. Rather less than an English acre.

two hundred animals had perished. The government could only express their commiseration, as the straitened condition of the exchequer forbade all pecuniary assistance. A new city was shortly seen to rise from the soil which was yet warm ; houses were built on the ruins of former houses, streets upon streets, and churches upon churches ; so strong is the attachment to home, which, could such a sentiment be blamed, might, in the midst of this desolation, have been stigmatized as stubborn infatuation.

In these days of universal mourning, the king, with his family and General Acton, escaped the danger and gloom by visiting the camp at Sessa. The theatres, law-courts, and tribunals were closed, while the Junta of State alone, it appears, amidst this scene of woe, refused to suspend their cruel office ; many of their acts being found in the archives, dated during this period. Their first deed was the execution of Tommaso Amato, who had forced his way to the sanctuary in the Church del Carmine upon a feast day, and while struggling with a friar who endeavoured to stop him, uttered loud and horrible imprecations against God and the king : he was seized by the people, who delivered him to the guards of the adjoining castle, and, accused of blasphemy and treason, he was condemned to die on the gallows. The king ordered prayers in the churches to appease the wrath of God which had been excited by this profanation of the temple and priests. The remains of Tommaso Amato were not permitted Christian burial, and his name was pronounced with horror. But letters from Messina, his native place, written by the governor of that city, General Danèro, informed his judges, that Tommaso Amato was subject to periodical fits of insanity, and had some time since escaped from a madhouse. The president of the court, Cito, and the judge, Potenza, suspected as much while engaged in the procès, and had proposed he should be placed under restraint as insane ; but the other judges were desirous of punishing a man whom the people believed guilty, and to confirm the sentence of the rabble, which denounced him as the enemy of God and the king. The Junta, after thus rousing the ferocity of the people by the sight of blood, prepared what was called the *Gran Causa de rei di Stato* (the grand trial for political offenders). The government, alarmed by the recent events in France and Italy, enjoined severity on the judges. Robespierre was at

the head of affairs in France, where the most atrocious doctrines reigned triumphant, while the French armies ruled abroad; in Piedmont, a conspiracy against the king had been discovered, and been succeeded by tumults: the germs of liberty were springing up in Bologna, and suspected conspiracies in Naples had become real, owing to bad harvests, always dangerous to tranquillity, to the poverty of the people, to the resentment of those who had been unjustly persecuted, and to such causes as usually conduce to the growth of dissatisfaction. The Junta of State commenced the trials; their proceedings were inquisitorial, the proofs given in writing, secret accusations or denunciations accepted as evidence, and even paid spies received as witnesses; in which capacity servants, children, and the nearest relatives were allowed to appear. The procès, drawn up in secret, was handed to the advocates for the prisoner, who were appointed by the king; the defences were produced in writing, the accused was not permitted to speak, and the sentence was pronounced with closed doors; the affirmations of persons employed as inquisitors were admitted as equal to a formal examination into the case, and though the judges were not forbidden to consult their law-books, this was found incompatible with the short time allowed for the trial, which was *ad horas*; the *scrivano* was employed as inquisitor; and the magistrate who pronounced sentence was selected from among those who bore the worst character, such as Vanni, in the time of which I write, and subsequently, Fiore, Guidobaldi, and Speciale. The judges were unequal in number, in order to deprive the prisoner of the benefit of equal votes. Punishments of the most severe description were prescribed, death by the gallows, and exile; the sentences were without appeal, and to be immediately executed; and the victim to be held infamous; an order which was, however, never obeyed.

The procès for political offences having been completed, the procurator-fiscal declared the proofs against certain of the prisoners undoubted, and prepared the prosecution of the remainder as well as of those who had escaped, some of whom lay concealed, or were fortunate enough to be at liberty though implicated, or were in the employment of government; "for," he added, "he held certain proofs against twenty thousand persons, and fifty thousand more were under suspicion." After this opinion had been delivered,

the king ordered the Junta of State to try the guilty persons lawfully indicted by the procurator-fiscal *ad modum belli ad horas*; the tribunal then continued without intermission to sentence those accused, from the 16th September when it first met, until its dissolution on the 3d October, allowing themselves no repose, except for the necessaries of life. The minutes for the procès against fifty persons filled one hundred and twenty-four volumes. The procurator-fiscal demanded punishment for thirty, who were first to be put to the torture, to discover their accomplices; judgment was held suspended over nineteen, but they were to be imprisoned with the thirty above mentioned; the last of the fifty was not named. This man, by name Pietro di Falco, the leader of the plot, had betrayed his associates, and revealed the names of the members of the secret societies; he was nevertheless condemned to be confined for life in the island of Trémiti. The tribunal proceeded to condemn three to death, three to the galleys, twenty to confinement, and thirteen to lesser punishments; ten were liberated. Among those imprisoned was the Duke d'Accadia, and the king maintaining the privileges of his order, caused two nobles to assist at the trial, under the name of peers, a last mark of respect to the law. The conspiracy was not even named in the sentence by which the conspirators suffered, as the judges were ashamed thus severely to punish the secret meetings of youths burning with patriotism, inexperienced in the world, without wealth, fame, influence, or the audacity which alone could have enabled them to introduce innovations in the State, and holding crime in abhorrence, as well as the class of men who give the first impetus to revolutions. They had only been guilty of vows, declarations, and hopes. For this conspiracy three died, many suffered severe penalties, and all were menaced; while public morals were deteriorated, and party spirit and enmities created, followed by acts of tyranny on the part of the government, and insubordination on the part of the subjects,—and in the course of time, by violent and inextinguishable hatred and thirst for vengeance.

Those condemned to die were Vincenzo Vitaliano, twenty-two years of age; Emanuele di Deo, twenty; and Vincenzo Galliani, only nineteen; all of gentle birth, well known in the schools as young men of talent, but unknown to the world. After they had been



condemned, the queen sent for Giuseppe Deo, the father of Emanuele, and bade him go to his son with a promise of life and full pardon, if he would reveal the conspiracy and the names of the conspirators. The old man found Emanuele in the chapel receiving the last consolations of religion ; and left alone with him (as the queen had directed), embraced his son in trembling, and delivered his message, urging on him the promised reward. He expatiated on his own grief, on that of his mother, and on the disgrace to his family, and proposed after Emanuele had recovered his liberty, to retire with him to some distant country, and return in less troubled times. Emanuele listened without uttering a word, and his father supposing he was about to yield, threw himself at his feet, and bursting into tears, entreated him in broken accents to have pity upon him. The youth, however, hastily raised him from the ground, and after kissing his hands and face, replied :—" My father, the tyrant in whose name you come, not satisfied with having thus afflicted us, hopes to add infamy to our grief, by now offering me a disgraceful life at the price of a thousand honourable lives ; suffer me to die ; liberty demands much blood, but the first shed is the purest. What is the existence you propose for your son and for yourself ? Where could we hide our ignominy ? I should have to fly all I prize most—my country and my kindred ; and you would blush for your honoured name. Calm your grief, soothe the grief of my mother, and both of you seek comfort in the recollection that I die innocent, and in a righteous cause. Let us bear present and temporary suffering, and the time will come when my name will be immortalized in history, and when you will boast that your son died for his country." The noble spirit, lofty words, and transcendent courage of the youth, burning with the love of true glory, deprived his father of the power of answering, and almost ashamed of being surpassed in virtue by a mere boy, he covered his face with his hands, and, overcome with emotion and feelings of admiration, rushed from the dreadful spot.

The following day the three youths were led to execution ; they made no dying speeches, which, though having the appearance of courage, are often used merely to distract thought in an hour of misery ; but met death with a serenity of mind unknown to their tyrants, who believed that fifty thousand Jacobins were assembled

in the city ready to rise and rescue their comrades, and put the heads of the government and their adherents to death. The scaffold, therefore, was erected in the square called *Del Castello*, under the guns of the fortress; the place was surrounded by soldiers, artillery planted at the openings of the streets, and numerous bodies of troops advanced nearer the city; the people were likewise informed by a proclamation, that the cannon of the castle should be discharged at the slightest movement on their part. Police officers in disguise as well as in uniform, and swarms of spies, mingled with the crowd: but after all these measures of safety had been taken, the royal family remained at the palace of *Caserta*, in a state of more breathless anxiety than the three youths who died resigned to their fate. Real terror was produced in the city by these outward signs, and the square would have been empty, had not scenes of horror been as attractive to the rabble as a festival. After *Galliani* and *Deo* had been executed, and the third was ascending the scaffold, a slight movement in the crowd, the origin of which was unknown, spreading through the spectators, whose fears had been excited by the preparations menacing them from the overhanging bastions, caused such a panic, that some of the people were wounded in the hurry of flight, many were robbed, and the square emptied, so that the executioners finished their task without witnesses.

Natural phenomena rendered the year 1794 still more gloomy; several men were killed by thunderbolts; one fell in a church, and another in the port of Naples, where it split the masts and destroyed the rigging of a new vessel just ready equipped for the war; and a sailor was burnt to ashes. Many and fearful shipwrecks occurred on our shores, epidemics of a severe nature prevailed, and many eminent men died in the metropolis, so that at the conclusion of a year to which the credulous attached a superstitious idea, better times were expected. But in the commencement of the following year, news arrived of the death of the Prince of *Caramanico*, Viceroy of Sicily, accompanied by rumours and tales respecting his end, such as were calculated to spread a panic throughout both kingdoms. The reader must here be reminded, that it was the Prince of *Caramanico* who first proposed to the queen to invite *Acton* from Tuscany; that *Acton* on his

arrival had found favour at Court, and, jealous of his benefactor, had availed himself of his new influence to remove the prince to a distance from the palace. Caramanico therefore was supposed to have died of poison, either by the connivance of his rival, or taken to save himself the mortification, and to deprive his enemy of the triumph, of seeing him led prisoner to the fortress of Gaeta under an accusation of treason, of which he had received intimation by messengers in whom he could confide; and he had determined to avoid the disgrace and danger by death. Several occurrences in the prince's household, the precautions which had been used, his sudden death, supposed marks of poison, the circumstances of the times, his high position, and the power of an unscrupulous enemy, strengthened the belief in these stories. The odium in which the minister and the queen were held was increased, and began to be displayed towards the king (whose indolence was not sufficient excuse for the crimes perpetrated in his name), and tales to the prejudice of all three were circulated among the people, which were derogatory to the royal dignity, and excited a spirit of hatred against those in power. After the lamented death of the viceroy, all hoped for the disgrace of the minister, and that he would be replaced by the Chevalier de Medici, a nobleman of high family, and who was already on the road to political greatness; judging by his rapid career through the offices he had already held, he was pronounced worthy of still higher advancement, which was the more eagerly demanded in the present perils of the state. This reputation which, when proceeding from the people, is always a recommendation, increased the ambition of the youth, attracted the notice of the queen, and excited the jealousy of the ministers, which was the greater since they knew that no other man in the Court of Naples could rise, or even aspire to an elevation equal to themselves; and therefore they had only to set aside this one rival, to secure their own permanence in office.

They were aware that the sure way to accomplish his ruin was to accuse him of treason, and only wanted time to weave the web of calumny. Among those condemned by the Junta was one Annibale Giordano, a professor in mathematics, and man of great talents though low moral character; he was in the habit of frequenting the house of Medici, where he was received as a friend. Whether

prompted by others, or induced by the baseness of his own nature, he accused the Chevalier Medici as an accomplice in the conspiracy. The minister, Acton, kept the letter containing the accusation, promised to conceal the name of the accuser, and giving him a reward, charged him to keep the matter secret; he then proceeded to collect other evidence, with the names of the accusers undersigned, or even without names, but under a promise to reveal them, when the regent was deprived of his terrific power. The evidence having been collected, the minister sent to request a private interview with the king and queen, when he addressed them as follows:—

“In the present evil times, replete with difficulties, loyalty is often confounded with treachery, the true with the false; where accusations are disbelieved, the State may be exposed to danger, and where believed, the royal peace of mind is disturbed, and perhaps the honest and just are suspected. In cases of minor importance, therefore, armed with the authority granted me by your Majesties, I have acted on my own responsibility; and thus, all severe measures are attributed to me, and clemency to the king. But there are more serious cases, where the authority of a minister is not sufficient, and I dare not be alone responsible. I have,” he continued, pointing to the papers in his hand, “long refrained from mentioning an affair of great importance, but silence would now be guilt on my part. Annibale Giordano, who was among the first accused of treason, has had the courage, in a paper signed with his name, to accuse the regent of the Vicaria, the Chevalier de Medici, as an accomplice in the conspiracy.” Wonder appeared in the countenance of the king, and indignation in that of the queen, but without appearing to notice the effect of his words, he continued: “The enormity of the crime weakens our belief in the accusation; a young man raised to one of the first positions in the State, with still higher distinctions before him, born of a noble family, treated with favour by his sovereigns, and with respect by the ministers (by one of whom he is even beloved), how is it possible that he should stake so many present advantages for a visionary hope in the future? The accusation might be considered a calumny and invention of an enemy, had not the regulations so wisely laid down by your Majesty for the public safety, prevented

the omission of a single truth, and discovered other facts and fresh proofs against the regent: he was present at the meeting of the club of Jacobins at Posilippo, for the purpose of conspiracy, though under the pretence of a supper; he conferred with La Touche; by his means, the arrest of the Jacobins who went on board the French vessel was stopped; which at the time, though aware of the failure, I attributed to accident, or an ill-concerted plan, rather than to criminal intention. Other proofs of his guilt stand registered in these pages, and among them are calumnies against his sovereigns. Many noblemen, instigated by his advice and example, are among the conspirators, such as the Colonna, Caraccioli, Pignatelli, Serva, and Caraffa, with others distinguished by their birth, rank, and wealth. They are indeed younger members of these families, not the heads; but the conspirators though mere youths are protected by their seniors, who, from natural affection, defend their children, and thus abet the enterprise. It is my duty to lay these matters before your Majesties, and waiting your decision, remind you that to balance the conduct of wicked and ungrateful men, you have the obedience of your army, the loyalty of your people, and the devotion of numbers."

The queen did not venture to speak before the king had spoken; and Ferdinand only asked the minister what he proposed, to which Acton replied:—"I know that it is the duty of the minister to suggest the remedy while exposing the evil; but after long reflection, I have not been able to solve the doubts which fill my mind, and I hoped for command and advice from your Majesties. Clemency and rigour are equally dangerous. A few months ago, the conspirators were men from the middle rank of life, they are now the highest in the State. Where will this insanity end, if not suppressed by terror? Yet severity will offend many influential persons. The times indeed are changed, but the pride of the baronial wars survives in the memory of the people, who still relate histories of the injuries inflicted by the Arragonese kings and the struggles of the barons. The barons of to-day are not warriors, but they are supported by the passion for liberty, too widely spread among the people. In the midst of these doubts a thought has occurred to me, which might answer our purpose, though not strictly accordant with the rules of justice, and which I will here

lay before your Majesties. The Chevalier de Medici is ambitious ; the impatience of youth cannot endure the suspense and tedium of expectation. If your Majesty would raise him to the cabinet, his guilty wish to change the government of the State would cease, and he would himself at once crush the conspiracy, all whose machinations are well known to him." Before Acton could finish his insidious suggestions, the queen interrupting him, exclaimed,— " Thus to disgrace the crown ! Are we sunk so low as to offer premiums to conspirators ? Who would not henceforth conspire against the Crown if, when successful and discovered, he is to be rewarded ? Sire," she added, turning to the king, " let the Chevalier de Medici, whatever his birth and influence, and the nobles of whatever name or wealth, share the common fate, and be brought before the tribunal of state ; one high example is worth a thousand obscure names." The king upon this broke up the conference, and ordered that the day after the morrow the ministers of the Crown, General Pignatelli, commander-in-chief of the army, Cardinal Fabrizio Ruffo, the Duke di Gravina, and the Prince of Migliano, should meet in council in the palace of Caserta.

The next day the queen declared that she had been acquainted with the plots revealed by the minister, but had concealed them from the king, not to disturb his repose, and waiting until the proofs were matured. All this was a mere boast and falsehood, as the plots were invented by Acton himself to ruin Medici, and had been kept by him a profound secret to prevent any vindication. Even royal personages, when they meddle in matters of police, are contaminated with a desire for vain glory ; the crafty Englishman seized the advantage presented him by this falsehood, and privately informed a majority of the council that the queen had discovered new conspiracies, that a speech of his on the previous day, in which he had recommended mercy, had been ill received by the sovereigns, and that it would therefore be wiser to recommend severity ; he promised to mention no names, but begged for secrecy, which was promised in return, and received thanks for his confidence. The council met in Caserta, where the king informed them he wished their advice in a matter of the utmost importance, concluding his short address in these words : " Forget your private affections, your ties of class and kindred ; and be guided only by

one consideration, the safety of my crown. General Acton will explain the case." Acton accordingly stated the affair in a studied and insidious speech, after which the king asked the opinion of those present, who only added accusations to the accusations already made by the minister; as under a tyrant, adulation or cowardice often prevents good advice in times of greatest need. It was resolved that Medici, with as many as were accused, noble or plebeian, should undergo their trial. The Junta of State, who had been in such haste to punish, that in the case of Tommaso Amato they could not wait for letters from Messina, and who had been so merciless towards three almost beardless youths, were not thought either sufficiently expeditious or sufficiently austere to sit in judgment in the case now before them. Their partiality was feared towards the Chevalier de Medici, who had himself been one of them, and until that time had shown himself unrelenting towards those very conspirators who were now said to be his associates. The Junta was therefore dissolved, and recomposed of men of harsher character. Vanni and Giaquinto were retained; but in place of Cito, Porcinari, Bisogni, and Potenza, were appointed the magistrate Giuseppe Guidobaldi, Fabrizio Ruffo, Prince of Castelcicala, and others, already notorious. Castelcicala was at that time ambassador in London, but returned home, overjoyed at his new office and the opportunity it afforded him of proving his fidelity to his sovereigns, and his indignation against rebels to God and the throne. The queen was delighted at his appointment, since a princely inquisitor of state justified her former declaration, that she would destroy the old prejudice which attached infamy to spies, who were in reality the best citizens, because faithful to the throne, and guardians of the law. Vanni was accordingly created a marquis, and the order of Constantine decorated the lowest and most infamous of informers, while offices of state were bestowed on those alone who were designated *meritorious* persons.

The innate loquacity of the queen, to whom we are indebted for a knowledge of the private conversations of Acton, the king, and herself, revealed what had taken place at the council at Caserta to the Marchioness Sammarco, one of her ladies, her confidante and companion; whom she informed that her brother, the Chevalier de Medici, was a Jacobin, that if aided by fortune he

would prove a second Robespierre, and that he had been conspiring against the throne. Warned of his danger, Medici went to the palace, and though denied access to the queen, had an interview with the king, who, however, vouchsafed no reply to his arguments and entreaties, but the following day deposed him from his office, and shut him up in the fortress of Gaeta. One of the Colonna family, a son of the Prince di Stigliano, the Duke di Canzano, the Count di Ruvo, one of the Serra of Cassano, Caracciolo, Riari, and others, distinguished by their ancestors or their high rank, were at the same time conducted to prison; they belonged to the first order of barons, were related to the most ancient nobility of the kingdom, and their families had been held by the people in veneration and awe from the earliest period. To explain this bold proceeding on the part of the Government, it must be remembered that the sovereigns of Naples, roused to the utmost indignation by the insults offered to monarchy, and by sympathy with their unhappy relatives, had been first furious against the French, but despairing of being able to execute vengeance against a powerful and distant nation, turned their rage upon such persons within their own kingdom who represented the opinions of France. All were called Jacobins who were enamoured with the charms of liberty, who spoke in praise of republics, who read foreign newspapers, or who imitated French fashions in their dress; from Jacobins, by degrees, they were stigmatized as conspirators desirous of the downfall of the throne, the destruction of the altars, and the death of kings and priests. The mere expression of abstract opinions as well as external appearances in every-day life, were considered evidence of guilt, and obtained the importance attached to the greatest crimes. Upon the arrival of Admiral La Touche, some few Neapolitans had indeed met secretly to confer with the French, and had translated into Italian, and printed, the constitution of 1791; but after their meetings had been suppressed by the severities of the Government, the word liberty was rarely heard, and the news of the day was only spoken in whispers, the people expressing their joy in the successes of France, and their hopes, in a low voice to one another, and then separating. No conspiracy existed, nor project for a change, and these phantasms were raised by the police, the Junta of State, the ministers and the queen, with her numerous band of



spies. The absence of proof, and the belief that the silence of the accused proceeded from secrecy and fidelity to their party, rendered their rulers more savage, and they multiplied the torments of the prisoners, while filling the prisons with men such as Pagano, Cijaja, Monticelli, Biscaglia, Bishop Forges, and others, respected for learning and virtue : they laid snares for innocence, while promising offices and gifts to whoever should reveal treasonable crimes ; they corrupted family life by setting brother against brother, son against father ; and they depraved the morals of the people by dissolving the obligations of the servant, the tutor, the client, and the confessor, thus disorganizing society.

Unhappily, the success of the government in a case at Palermo, helped to aggravate this state of suspicion and misery. The people there, suffering from starvation owing to the bad harvests of that year, drained by new taxes, discontented with the government of the Archbishop Lopez, who had succeeded in the island upon the death of Caramanico, rose in tumults which could have been easily prevented or suppressed. A lawyer of the name of Blasi, with a few others, met secretly to consult if it were possible to turn the desperate state of the people to account, by exciting them to a revolution ; betrayed and thrown into prison, Blasi was executed, after having been first put to the torture in the public square, according to ancient usage : others were sent to the galleys, and others into exile ; the people were in consternation ; and while their tyrants were still farther exasperated, endurance, but not calm, succeeded this attempt. While the details of the supposed conspiracy were yet unknown in Naples, the king and queen believing they were surrounded by treachery and death, dismissed their ancient body-guard, and chose others, changed their attendants, altered the routine of the palace, ordered their food to be tested, and concealed their sleeping apartments from the common menials ; their alarm increased daily, and they deprived others of the peace of mind they could not obtain for themselves. In the midst of these scenes of agitation, terror, and rigour, they published an edict by which crimes of treason were pardoned, and rewards offered to all guilty persons, who should reveal the conspiracy, its leaders, or associates. In consequence of this edict, three refugee nobles gave information upon matters which were both unimportant and false ; but I refrain

from mentioning their names, as they afterwards washed out the stain with their blood; one dying in war, and the other two, who were brothers, on the scaffold.

So much shame and misery at home, was in some degree compensated for by the news of the conduct of the regiments of Neapolitan cavalry, serving with the Germans in the war in Lombardy, where they displayed at least equal discipline and valour; and of our ships which, having joined the English in the Gulf of Genoa, had fallen in with the French fleet which had left Toulon, with the intention of carrying the war into the coasts of Romagna, where they were to land the soldiers on board. The fleets were equal, but we had superior skill and fortune on our side, and the French, after losing two men-of-war and a brigantine, returned into port shattered and beaten. Admiral Hotham, who commanded the Anglo-Neapolitan fleet, highly commended the conduct of our men, and especially noted the intrepidity and skill displayed by Francesco Caracciolo, the captain of a frigate, for whom Providence destined at no distant time a glorious life and unhappy end. Within the kingdom, the communes furnished the soldiers demanded of them, and the barons sent cavalry and horses; the public taxes were paid, and the people bore, without murmurs, the increasing loss upon bank paper. At the very time when this unhappy nation was thus giving so many proofs of patriotism, the people were treated as rebels by their king, and maligned by the world; yet they bore the burdens of the war, and while suffering the penalties and infamy due to felons, made every exertion demanded of them by loyalty. During this period, and until the year 1795, France was governed in the form of a republic, but in reality a few men tyrannized over the people as slaves, and slavery and tyranny seemed to flow alike from the pure sources of liberty. The despotism of Robespierre arose under the Convention, which, while causing the death of eighteen hundred Frenchmen beneath the axe, established a free government; after his death and the cessation of the guillotine, the power passed into the hands of five called the Directory, and these atrocities having been put an end to, the government of France wore a less terrific aspect to foreign nations, but became more obnoxious to royal personages, because better understood by the people.

General Bonaparte, who had first attracted public notice at Toulon, now acquired celebrity in the parties at Paris, and attained the rank of captain while fighting in Italy. Only just passed his twenty-fifth year, he was treated with derision by the veteran captains of the Houses of Austria and Savoy ; but in a short time their contempt was changed into wonder and terror. The allied armies were dispersed in the battles of Montenotte, Millesimo, Dego, and Mondovi, and the Piedmontese were forced to choose between submission or conquest, while the Austrians retired into the Lombard States, and all the princes of Italy were in consternation ; the weak negotiated for peace, and the strong or presumptuous increased their defences and the number of their soldiers. Venice alone, remembering her former greatness, and believing that in the midst of the sea she was inaccessible to French battalions, her alliance courted by France as well as by the hostile powers, signified her intention of maintaining an armed neutrality, but to refrain from attacking the dominions of others, while defending her own. Naples, at the extremity of the peninsula, with a strong frontier, a large population, and the island of Sicily which served as a citadel to the kingdom and Italy, ruled the Mediterranean sea by her own forces, and by those of the Confederation. Her king, of a rash and impetuous temper, and who until that time had been obliged to suffer insult without the means of revenge, defied the enemy by sending more cavalry into Lombardy, and proclaiming war in edicts couched in the following style :—“ The French, the murderers of their king, who forsake their temples, who massacre and expel their priests, destroy their best and greatest citizens, spoil the Church of her possessions, and subvert all law and justice, unsatiated with crime, abandon their native land in hordes, and bring with them a like scourge to the nations they conquer, or to those who are credulous enough to receive them as friends. But the kings and people already wait in arms, determined on their destruction, and following this example of justice and courage, we will trust in the Divine aid and our own weapons. Let prayers be offered up in all the churches, and let all devout Neapolitans go to their orisons, and invoke God for the repose of the kingdom, listen to the exhortations of their priests, and follow the councils preached from the pulpits, and enjoined in the confessionals.”

“A conscription is opened in every commune, and all ye who are capable of bearing arms, hasten to enrol yourselves as soldiers. Remember that it is for the defence of your country, the throne, liberty, the most holy Christian religion, your wives, children, and property; for all you prize in life, your institutions and laws. I will myself share in your prayers and exertions, for I would sooner die than relinquish our independence or abandon our righteous cause.”

In an address to bishops, curates, confessors, and missionaries, he ordered: “For the space of three days, prayers and penance are to be performed in the churches of the two kingdoms, to invoke the Almighty for the repose of my dominions. You will from the altars and confessionals remind the people of their duties as Christians and subjects; which are to maintain a pure heart towards God, and a hand armed in the defence of religion and the throne. You will point out the horrors of the present state of France; the fallacies of that tyranny which is called liberty, the license of the French troops, and the dangers to which all are exposed. You will excite the zeal of the people by processions and sacred ceremonies. You will warn them that the revolutionary spirit is intent upon the subversion of every order of society, and begins with signing the death-warrant of the two first, the Church and the throne.”

Finally, by another edict addressed to the ministers of the crown, it was declared that political necessity, as well as the will of the sovereign, called upon all men capable of bearing arms to enrol themselves in the army. As a further incentive, besides obedience to the royal commands, and the usual rewards and immunities, an increase of pay was promised to volunteers, as well as the privilege of exemption from trial by the ordinary tribunals,<sup>1</sup> for themselves and their families; and to those who displayed valour during the war, exemption from the fiscal taxes for the space of ten years. Still greater temptations were held out to all barons or nobles who should join the standard, or enlist a strong corps from among their vassals. The edicts were circulated throughout the provinces, while the metropolis set an example of obedience. The three days’ sacred service commenced in the cathedral, and in the

<sup>1</sup> See p. 138.

Chapel of St. Januarius ; the king with his family, the great nobles of the court, the magistrates and ministers, were in constant attendance ; and were followed by the lowest orders, and by the people, so that the immense temple could hardly contain the crowd of worshippers. The same took place in the provinces, and perhaps never did more fervent and sincere prayers ascend to heaven than in those days, which was a sufficient proof of the prevailing panic. The sermons which were chiefly preached by missionaries and friars were full of zeal. They painted the French nation in the most hideous colours, stirring up the people against them, and not only granting absolution, but encouraging deeds of the utmost ferocity, while imparting an air of sanctity to a war of extermination, and recalling as works of merit, the savage deeds of a barbarous age. Their tone was still more unchristian in the confessionals, where, without the restraint of publicity, they stirred up a spirit of hatred in the hearts of the ignorant and unpolished people ; and thus sowed the seed which afterwards produced a harvest of slaughter. Soldiers hastened from all parts of the kingdom to join the army, and with a readiness worthy of republicans, rather than with the appearance of blind submission to authority. When the numbers were complete, thirty thousand men were encamped in the open country, or placed as a guard on the frontiers and to menace the enemy. All were alike occupied with devising schemes for the defence of the kingdom ; but as we had little experience in military matters, there was great divergence in opinions and projects. The chief direction of the war was shared among many leaders ; some undertook the care of one line of frontier, some of another ; labour and expense were thus vastly increased, and numberless experiments were made upon as many points. There was no general plan of operations in this war. The leaders were guided by history not principles ; the enemy was feared on the shores of the Liri, rather than in the mountains of the Abruzzi, and the camps and fortifications were disposed so as to protect that part of the country which lay nearest that river. It is, however, needless to dwell on these mistakes, as the loss of the kingdom may be attributed to other causes. The army was composed of numerous detachments of soldiers, collected together in close quarters, with little science to direct them, without military

habits, and with the commissariat, the officers, and generals, new to their task. This inexperience produced many evils, the most serious of which was a contagious disorder which became permanent in the camps. Though placed at great distances from one another, on the Garigliano and Tronto, the soldiers in each of the camps were seized with violent fevers, which occasioned death sometimes on the seventh day, but more frequently on the fifth. Those within reach of the contagion, and even those at a distance, were infected, if they were residing in the camps or quarters of the soldiers. The disease itself as well as the remedies were unknown, and every attempt at cure proved equally useless: the fever appeared incurable. Though the old hospitals were insufficient, new were not built, the sick were therefore confounded with the healthy, and the disease spreading everywhere, ten thousand soldiers perished, and the zeal of the people, thus unjustly remunerated by fate, began to cool.

At the same time with the proclamation of war, another royal edict appeared, decreeing all worthy of death who should at the approach of the enemy receive or send letters or messages from or to him, or in any way assist him, or excite rebellion. Any assemblage of persons, exceeding nine, was liable to the punishment for treason, while other severe measures and precautions were employed, as if the enemy had been at the gates. The trials were to be conducted *ad horas*; the means of procuring evidence was facilitated, as the affirmations of three persons were considered enough, although the witnesses might be informers, or accomplices who had been induced to make these revelations, for the benefit of pardon. The magistrates were left to decide according to their consciences. The tribunal was the Junta, and their sentences, which were without appeal, were to be executed that same day. The immediate cause of this edict was the successes of General Bonaparte in Italy, the dissolution of the confederation between Austria and Piedmont, the armistice and consequent truce between France and the King of Sardinia, the capture of Milan, and other cities, with all the marvels performed by that young soldier; and the disasters of General Beaulieu, who, besides his German troops, commanded four regiments of Neapolitan cavalry. Beaulieu was suddenly attacked and defeated on the Mincio, and forced to withdraw his

army into the passes of the Tyrol ; but even this last refuge would have been denied him by the conquerors, if the Neapolitan cavalry, then making their first essay in arms, had not fought with a valour equal to veteran troops ; both officers and men died honourably ; General Cutò, wounded on the field, was taken prisoner, and the Prince di Moliterno, captain of a division, received a cut from a scimitar across the face, and lost an eye. The fame of the conduct of our soldiers, caused the French to suspend their projected invasion of the kingdom, as they expected to find the frontiers valiantly defended ; and, in order to deprive the enemy of his most powerful ally, Bonaparte offered an armistice to the King of Naples. Ferdinand, whose hopes had been converted into fears, accepted the proposal, and after the terms had been settled at Brescia, recalled his regiments from Lombardy, and his ships from the Anglo-Sicilian fleets, making an ostentatious parade of neutrality ; while his fears and hatred were in reality increased, by the news that the cities of Italy occupied by the French, were organizing themselves into republics, and that this danger was advancing with as rapid strides as the conquest ; General Bonaparte had meantime traversed Lower Italy as far as Leghorn with a legion, which, though weak in numbers, was strong by the name and successes of their leader.

But no sooner did the news arrive that Marshal Wurmser was descending into Italy with a fresh army, and that the French general was collecting his scattered troops, to withdraw them (as it was said) to a distance, than the king of Naples, with the hope of vengeance revived, and forgetful of the recent armistice, sent more soldiers to the frontier, occupied Pontecorvo, a city subject to the Pope, and prepared for hostilities. Though the pontiff was himself, by a recent treaty, on amicable terms with France, he prepared for war, and concerted a plan of operations with Austria and Naples. It is no wonder if in our days public faith—the great link which binds society together—be torn asunder and despised by the mass of mankind, when the example was first set them by their rulers, who for this purpose employed the irresistible force of despotic power, and the prestige attached to their position. Ferdinand of Naples and Pius vi. only waited for a favourable opportunity to discover their intentions, which appeared to present

itself when they heard the French had been forced to raise the siege of Mantua so hastily that they had not had time to carry off or destroy the heavy artillery in the trenches. Cacault, the French minister at Rome, perceiving warlike preparations, asked the pontiff the motives for this armament; receiving tardy and evasive answers, accompanied with renewed protestations of amity and peace, he proceeded to Naples, where the government, being either less cautious in their language, or yielding to the impulses of their hatred, informed him that the occupation of Pontecorvo was in consequence of an agreement with the sovereign of the place; and further, that if the states of the Pope were invaded by his enemies, the Neapolitans were resolved to enter his dominions by the opposite frontier, but that until then they would continue faithful to the armistice. Cacault informed the French government and the general of Italy, of the evasive answers of the Pope, the insolent replies of the king of Naples, and of the treachery of both. They were just prepared to move, when news reached them that Bonaparte, taking advantage of the errors of Wurmser, had first attacked one-half of the imperial army and then the other, defeating them in three battles; after which he had returned to the siege of Mantua, where he found a great number of the guns he had left in the entrenchments; for his victory had been so unexpected that the garrison, like their besiegers, had not had time to carry off or destroy the artillery and works. The enemies of France trembled, and the more false or insolent they had shown themselves, the more cowardly and cringing they now became. The Court of Rome made fresh protestations of amity; but the French invaded the Legations, and only conceded a suspension of arms to the Holy See under heavy conditions. The King of the Sicilies petitioned that the armistice of Brescia should form the basis of a permanent treaty, and sent the Prince di Belmonte, ambassador to Bonaparte and the Directory, who accordingly, on the 11th October, obtained peace at Paris on the following conditions:—

“ Naples, separating from her allies, shall remain neutral: she shall forbid more than four vessels belonging to the potentates engaged in the war, entering her ports: she shall liberate all Frenchmen accused of treason, and incarcerated within her domi-



nions: she shall try to discover, and shall punish those who stole the papers of Makau, when ambassador of France: she shall allow Frenchmen freedom in religious worship: she shall grant such privileges in commerce as shall impart to France in the ports of the Two Sicilies, benefits equal to those enjoyed by the most favoured flags: she shall recognise the Batavian Republic, and shall consider her a party in the present treaty of peace."

Secret conditions were added, to the effect that "the king should pay eight millions of francs (two millions of ducats) to the French Republic, and that the French should not advance beyond the fortress of Ancona until they had concluded a truce with the Pontiff, nor second any revolutionary movement in the southern regions of Italy."

This last condition, and the omission of all mention of Neapolitan prisoners accused of treason, cost our treasury a million of francs in gifts and bribery, and thus the cunning of our tyrants, and the greediness of a free government, obliged us to pay the price of our own miseries. The Directory was so highly incensed against Naples, that this peace would not have been ratified, had not Bonaparte persuaded them to bear with insult, until Austria had been conquered and forced to submit. "At this moment," he argued, "we want the power to express our resentment, but the day will surely arrive when present and future offences will be punished; for the hatred of the barbarians against France will never cease until the old system be restored upon the ruins of the new." Meantime the Republic prospered. The army of Piedmont had been conquered; three Austrian armies defeated; Mantua was yielding; peace concluded with Sardinia, Prussia, and Spain; Russia silenced by the death of the Empress Catharine, and by the pacific disposition of her successor; several of the states of Italy had been formed into Republics and allied to France, and the Italian princes were either tributaries or neutral. Such was the state of affairs at the end of the year 1796.

As the peace, like the preceding armistice, had been a stratagem on the side of the Neapolitan government to gain time, or to await a more favourable moment for war, fresh battalions were added to the army, fortifications on the frontiers, and tribute demanded for the exchequer. The measures for public safety were unceas-

ing, and the country was burdened with the expense of two war establishments, one for abroad and the other for defence at home, while exposed to danger on both sides. One last hope revived the spirits of the people—the news, that after the fall of Mantua, the disasters of the Austrian armies, and the armistice, peace conferences had been opened at Leoben, and that the Marquis del Gallo, ambassador at Vienna from the Neapolitan Court, was appointed to represent the empire. He was of middle age, shrewd, with an ingenuous countenance, and had found favour with the emperor, who, with the permission of the King of Naples, had sent him to treat with Bonaparte at Leoben. We considered it an honour that a Neapolitan should have been selected to conduct the most important affair in Europe, while it made us confident that our interests would not be betrayed or neglected. The war having been suspended, the communication between Italy and Germany was re-opened; and the sovereigns of Vienna and Naples, relieved from anxiety, were wholly occupied with the journey of the Archduchess Clementina, who was on her way to marry Prince Francis, a union which had been settled seven years before, but not then celebrated, on account of the extreme youth of both parties. The Archduchess was conveyed to Trieste, where a Neapolitan vessel awaited her; her future husband met her at Manfredonia, and the religious ceremony was performed at Foggia. The prince was accompanied by his royal parents, with an immense suite of barons and persons of distinction, and the nuptials having been celebrated in June, they returned to Naples in July, where they were received amidst the honours due to the heir of the crown. The king bestowed rewards and gifts on all sides; General Acton was appointed commander-in-chief, which left nothing more for his master to bestow, or for him to receive; forty-four vacancies in episcopal sees were filled up, all of which had been long in abeyance, that the government might enjoy their revenues; and offices, titles, and military and civic decorations were dispensed. The bride, a lovely young princess, who had hardly passed her fifteenth year, had a melancholy cast of countenance, which was the more remarkable, and excited the greater pity in the midst of the general rejoicings. The king bestowed the title of Marquis on many of the inhabitants of Foggia, in reward for a surprising

display of magnificence during the festivities at the royal nuptials, but this circumstance converted the simple habits of a pastoral or agricultural population to the luxurious habits of great merchants and the indolence of nobles, an indolence the more excessive, from the change having been so sudden. Thus an ill-judged reward, by an accession of dignity, hastened the decline of the city, and rapidly produced that which is commonly the slow result of vices consequent on great wealth.

That year the Prince of Paterno was carried into slavery by a Tunisian pirate. He was a rich noble, proud of his wealth, and was on his way to Naples from Palermo, his native place, expecting office near the person of the king; he took his passage in a Greek ship, because the vessels of the Ottoman Porte were secure from pirates, and there were with him on board several other gentlemen, and a merchant in gold and jewels. The cupidity of the Greek was excited by so much wealth, and he accordingly made a secret bargain with the pirates cruising in the seas of Sicily; they attacked the ship when at a short distance from the harbour, and the scoundrels, laden with booty, and elated by their success, carried off the passengers into slavery. The prince, from his prison among the barbarians, wrote a letter of complaint to the king, who ordered his ambassador with the Sultan to demand vengeance on the pirates, and still greater and more merited punishment on the perfidious Greek. He wrote in affectionate terms to Paterno, promising him his royal mediation with the Turkish government, assuming a paternal care of his family, and exhorting him to bear his slavery with Christian fortitude. The reclamations at the Porte produced protestations of friendship and zeal on the part of the Sultan; but the guilty party escaped punishment, and the money (two hundred thousand ducats) which had been stolen, was not restored, nor the Prince set at liberty until a ransom had been paid of a million of piastres, a sum which diminished, without consuming, his wealth.

There was now no war in Italy, except between the French and the Pope, who had a large army in readiness under the command of the German, General Colli. Camps were formed and military works constructed on the frontier; Pius then wrote to the Emperor, declaring his intention to renew hostilities, and

after giving an inventory of his forces, thus concluded :—" If these do not suffice, I will add that of God, by declaring this to be a war of religion." The courier was intercepted, and the letter fell into the hands of Bonaparte, who published it, and sending information to the Directory, ordered his troops to advance by an edict, containing these words: " The Pope refuses to fulfil the terms of the armistice, and is slow and unwilling to conclude peace; he raises more soldiers, arms the people for a crusade, and seeks the alliance of the House of Austria, thus breaking, violating, and trampling upon the treaty which he has sworn to observe. The soldiers of the Republic will enter the Roman territory, will defend the cause of religion, the people, and justice, and woe to him who dares to oppose them!" The Directory meantime wrote to Bonaparte, that " the Roman religion being irreconcilable with Republican liberty, was the motive for hostility and the support of the enemies of France; he was therefore to destroy the centre of Roman unity, and without rousing the fanaticism of the people, render the priestly government odious and despicable, so that they may be ashamed to obey such rulers, and that the Pope and cardinals may seek an asylum and partisans out of Italy." But Bonaparte considered that this was not the time, nor were the destinies of Rome ripe, to obey this command.

His French troops, with Italians from the new republics, repulsed the Papal troops with great ease, and occupied the three Legations, part of the Marches, Perugia, and Foligno. Bonaparte halted at Ancona, where he was less engaged in plans for the war, than in organizing the governments of the new States; the Prince di Belmonte, arrived from Naples as ambassador, informed him of the desire of his king, that the armistice between the Pope and the Republic should form the basis of the peace. Bonaparte, enumerating the insults offered to France, declared this to be impossible, and the prince, from inadvertence or malice, incautiously showed him the instructions of his government, where the general read these words :—" The king is so deeply concerned for the state of affairs in Rome, that he intends to advance his army to second him in his friendly mediation." To which Bonaparte replied: " Three months ago, I refrained from humbling the pontifical pride, because I believed it possible that, at a time when more

important wars would have prevented my answering his challenge, the King of Naples might have joined the confederacy against France; but now, without diminishing the armies encamped as a precaution against Austria, thirty thousand French who have been relieved from the siege of Mantua, and forty thousand just arrived from France, are free to act and eager for war. If the King of Naples should raise the standard of defiance, tell him I accept his challenge." After thus speaking, he replied in more courteous language to the note, saying: "That great as were the offences of the Pontiff, the moderation of the Republic was still greater; he was therefore willing to treat for peace; and after depriving Rome of her secular arms, and trusting to the common sense of the age to destroy the efficacy of her spiritual weapons, he would be happy to acquiesce in the wishes of the sovereigns of Spain and Naples."

Peace with Rome was soon afterwards concluded at Tolentino; by which the Pontiff, obliged to resign a million in money, with horses, arms, and treasures of art and letters, the dominion of the Legations, and the fortress of Ancona, was dissatisfied and impoverished, and felt himself outraged. The States which had been delivered over to France obtained permission to organize themselves peaceably into republics, while the adjoining States obtained the same end by violence. In Rome herself, the citizens, though destitute of the virtue of their ancestors, remembered the days of their past glory, and several times rose in rebellion; but the malcontents being few, the leaders were no sooner captured than the rest dispersed, and the attempt always proved a miserable failure. The common people sided with the Pontiff, not from attachment, but from blind impulse, and in the hope of dishonest gain and impunity. In the month of December it happened that some of the patriots (as those were called who held republican opinions), pursued by the police, sought an asylum in the house occupied by the French embassy, whither they were followed by their pursuers and by some of the rabble. The place, usage, the privilege of protecting the oppressed, with the French name and honour, were sufficient inducements for all belonging to the embassy to shield the fugitives; but neither these considerations, nor the presence of persons of distinction, could obtain mercy from the assailants, who murdered General Duphot a distinguished officer, and even

threatened the person of the ambassador, Joseph Bonaparte, brother of the conqueror of Italy. The city was in an uproar, and no attempt was made to suppress the violence of the people, nor to discover or punish the assassins of Duphot. The day passed in this manner, and though the French ambassador appealed by letters to the ministers, he was neither reassured nor promised redress by the government. The arms of France were accordingly taken down, the French left Rome, and the state of war was resumed. The Roman government, alarmed by this hostile attitude, sent messengers to the French representative, and wrote to foreign potentates, addressing the neighbouring sovereign of the Sicilies with fervent and urgent entreaties for support. Nothing, however, could appease the wrath of the Directory, and of the French and Italian people; the death of Basville was remembered, with the intrigues of the Vatican, the frequent breach of treaties, and failure of promises; and it was decided, that it was necessary to sweep from Italy the source of corruption for so many centuries. Vengeance was immediate; for on the 28th December, Duphot perished, and on the 25th January, the French troops, by a command from Paris, moved from Ancona upon Rome.

General Berthier headed the expedition, as Bonaparte, after the conclusion of the peace of Campoformio, went to France to celebrate his triumph; but unlike that of the emperors of old (for the French Republic had not the wisdom to revive the august ceremony of the triumph), it was confined to public laudation and welcome. The President of the Directory called him the man sent by Providence; in every meeting, in every society, and amidst the multitude, the words inscribed on a banner presented to him by the Republic were quoted: "He has defeated five armies, triumphed in eighteen great battles, and sixty-seven combats; he has taken a hundred and fifty thousand prisoners; sent home a hundred and seventy standards, besides one thousand one hundred and fifty cannon to the arsenals, two hundred millions to the exchequer, fifty men-of-war to our ports, and treasures of arts and literature to our galleries and libraries. He has concluded nine treaties advantageous to the Republic; and he has given liberty to eighteen different States."

Bonaparte was, however, more intent on commencing another

war, and on earning fresh laurels, than on the pleasure of a triumph. By the peace of Campoformio, the frontiers of France had been extended, a better defence had been provided on the Alps and the Rhine, the Cisalpine Republic had sprung into existence, and the foundations had been laid for other republics. Venice was annihilated; and the cession of her dominions to the empire, had removed the difficulty occasioned by the disparity of territory produced by the new frontiers; the fate of the Venetians indeed was most unhappy, but deserved by a degenerate people. The king of the Sicilies acknowledged the Cisalpine Republic, and by granting to France her natural boundaries, and to Austria, although conquered, a better line of frontier in Italy, and more extensive dominions, with a greater number of subjects, the peace promised to be permanent; while the only injured parties were some of the princes of the Germanic body, who were incapable of carrying on a war, and the Venetian Republic, which, already degraded, now ceased to exist. The representatives on both sides were rewarded by their governments, and were praised by the world, and the Marquis del Gallo, who had supported the claims of the empire, returned to Naples, rich in gifts and fame.

But Europe was not yet destined to enjoy peace, which was already disturbed by the events of Rome. General Berthier refusing to listen to the ambassadors of the Pope, and to the deputies from the courts of Vienna, Naples, and Spain, made his hostile intentions plain. The expiring power of Rome then called on the people to prepare for defence, appealing to their superstition by processions, prayers, and a jubilee; and by the discovery of Cardinal Caleppi, that the images of the Virgin, in answer to the tears of the priests, shed real tears from the canvas or wood on which they were painted. Whilst these processions and miracles were occupying the people, an edict of Berthier reached the city, announcing the near approach of his army to punish the assassins of Duphot and Basville; but at the same time ready to protect the people and their rights, and promising to maintain discipline among his troops. Fear and hope, in various degrees, according to the views of the different parties, agitated the city. Soon after the appearance of the edict, the glistening of arms and the tricolor standard was seen above the hills of Rome; a signal for the liberals

to assemble tumultuously in the Campo Vaccino, proclaim freedom, and raise the tree which was the emblem of liberty. Ambassadors from the yet unborn Republic were despatched to meet Berthier, and await his arrival at the gates of Rome, to invite him to enter the city, and establish the new order of things upon the sovereign rights of the people and the conquest. He made a solemn entry into the city with arms and music, amidst the shouts of the populace, and decreed that the tyrannical government of the priests had ceased, that the Republic of Rome was restored by the descendants of Brennus, who now gave liberty on the Capitol to the descendants of Camillus; adding dignity to his discourse and solemnity to the act, by introducing the names of Brutus, Cato, and others, who revived the memory of the past. This was on the 15th February 1798. In the midst of this excitement Pope Pius VI., shut up in the Vatican, and deprived of his government, passive and silent, would have served as a model of calmness and philosophical resignation, had not the necessity which produced his patience subtracted from his claim to merit. He neither pretended to govern, nor left the city, but remained in Rome, an obstacle in the path of the Republic, and a scandal to the Catholic Church. When General Cervoni was sent to request him, in his character of Pope, to recognise the new state, his answer was prepared, as follows: "The sovereignty comes to me from God. I am not permitted to resign it; and at the age of eighty, I neither regard the safety of my person nor sufferings." As force was required to drive him from his throne, the Vatican was invested, the pontifical guard were disarmed, the attendants dismissed, a seal set on the apartments; and finally, the Pope was ordered to depart within two days. He obeyed, and on the 20th of that month he left Rome with a small retinue for Tuscany.

To conclude his history: he took up his abode at Sienna, until alarmed by earthquakes he left that city for the Carthusian monastery at Florence; driven thence by the jealousies and authoritative commands of the French Republic, he proceeded to Parma, thence to Tortona, Turin, and Briançon. Thus was the Most High Pontiff, enfeebled by extreme old age, infirm, and harassed in mind, carried prisoner from city to city; departing before dawn, and arriving in the night to conceal him from the eyes of the de-



vout. Nor was he permitted to remain in peace at Briançon, but was conveyed to the fortress of Valence; and from thence it was proposed to take him to Dijon, but he was at length set free by death, which carried him off on the 29th August 1799. His remains were laid in an obscure grave, where they continued until by a consular decree, signed by Bonaparte, it was proclaimed that: "Considering that the body of Pius VI. has been six months without honourable burial; that although that pontiff while he lived was an enemy of the Republic, yet that he may be excused on the plea of old age, perfidious councils, and unhappy circumstances; and that it is worthy of France to testify her respect towards a man who held the first position on earth; the Consuls decree that the mortal remains of Pius VI. may receive a burial befitting a pontiff, and that a monument be erected worthy of his name and dignity." The decree was executed, and the ashes were carried to Rome and placed in the Church of St. Peter, during the pontificate of his successor.

After the departure of Pius VI., those who had formerly been in authority, the cardinals, prelates, and persons of highest distinction, fled from Rome. A great many came to Naples to excite commiseration for the priesthood and hatred against France. French banners, troops, and trees of liberty lined the frontiers along the Abruzzi and the Liri; while robberies and violence were everywhere perpetrated, impoverishing the inhabitants, and a real tyranny reigned under the name of a Republic. Those who could anticipate the future benefits to arise from a free government, were willing to tolerate for a time the license of a state of conquest, but those who formed their judgment by passing occurrences, and lived only for the present, hated and feared the new order of things. This nearer view of liberty rather served as a check than an incentive to the Neapolitans to follow the example. General Balait came as a messenger from Berthier, to demand of our Government the expulsion of the emigrants, the dismissal of the English ambassador, the banishment of General Acton, and a free passage through the Neapolitan territory, for those troops destined to garrison Benevento and Pontecorvo. He added a demand that the king, now a vassal of the Roman Republic, as formerly of the Church, should present the accustomed tribute annually, and

should pay down on the instant a hundred and forty thousand ducats, the debt he owed the treasury of the Church at Rome. Though this was all that the ambassador alluded to, the king knew that his estate of the Farnesina had been sequestered, as the territory of an enemy; and, justly indignant, he replied that the two governments would settle their affairs through their representatives, ordered the cities of Benevento and Pontecorvo to be occupied by large detachments of his troops, and strengthened the frontier lines. Disputes, sequestration of property, and suspicion followed; both parties were on their guard, and all was prepared for hostilities.

Amidst this excitement, tidings reached Sicily that the fleet, formerly Venetian, but now French, which had sailed from Corfu, was cruising in the Sea of Syracuse, and a few days later, that numberless French vessels of war and transport, laden with soldiers and horses, were nearing the ports of the island. It was next rumoured they had sailed away, and that the Order of the Knights of Jerusalem had been driven from Malta, and that island had been seized by the French; after which, the fleet had immediately sailed for some new destination; that Bonaparte had embarked on board the ship *L'Orient*, that his design was unknown, but that the preparations were on a gigantic scale. Upon this information, the government of Naples, more alarmed for Sicily than for the rest of the kingdom, caused the ancient fortresses to be repaired, erected new batteries along the coast, increased the defences of the ports, garrisoned the island with twenty thousand soldiers and forty thousand militia, concerted signals for arming, and settled the places where to form encampments. As a further security, they contracted new but secret alliances with Austria, Russia, England, and the Porte. The four allies were all actuated by one motive, the desire for vengeance, though the pretext alleged, was the re-establishment of peace in Europe. Austria pledged herself to furnish sixty thousand soldiers to be quartered in the Tyrol and in her Italian provinces, so long as the war should last; the king promised to maintain thirty thousand on his frontiers, and both engaged to increase the numbers of their troops, if needed; four Neapolitan frigates were to cruise in the Adriatic, ready for service. This treaty was concluded at Vienna on the 19th May 1798,

by the minister Thugut for Austria, and the Duke di Campochiaro for Naples.

The Emperor of Russia, Paul I., magnanimously granted a fleet free of expense for the protection of Sicily, besides battalions of soldiers, two hundred Cossacks, and a corresponding park of field artillery, to be placed under the supreme command of the King of Naples in Italy. The alliance for a term of eight years, was concluded at St. Petersburg on the 29th November, by the Marquis of Serra Capriola on our side, and by Bezborodko, Kotschoubey, and Rostpochin, for Russia. The Emperor was attached to Serra Capriola, who had won his favour by his prudence and estimable qualities. By the league with England, negotiated in London on the 1st December, between the Marquis del Gallo and Sir William Hamilton, it was agreed that Great Britain should retain a larger fleet than that of the enemy in the Mediterranean; and that Naples should supply four men-of-war, four frigates, and four lesser vessels, and should when needed furnish three thousand seamen to the English armament in the Mediterranean. Finally, the ancient protestations of amity with the Ottoman Porte were renewed; the Sultan promising to send ten thousand Albanians, when requested by the king.

The anxieties caused by the vicinity of a great war, caused no cessation in the unhappy trials; and the very successes of the enemy made the Government more inveterate in their suspicions, while the police authorities saw a conspirator in every youth, and a sign of conspiracy in every fashion of dress. The hair arranged in a peculiar manner, uncured locks, the beard allowed to grow, trowsers worn to the feet, certain ribbons, colours, or appendages, were severely punished as crimes, entailing imprisonment and persecution, as for treason. The dungeons were therefore full of victims, whole families in mourning, and the people in a state of alarm. This panic was increased by the mystery maintained respecting the crimes and their punishments. Some of the prisoners had been heard, but others were left without examination, while none were allowed legal defence.

A new law decreed that the infamy attached to crime, or the punishment for treason, was not to extend to the family of the accused, but to be confined to the guilty person. Although it was

forbidden to defend or plead their cause anywhere, but especially in the palace, two ladies, the mothers of two of the prisoners, the Duchess of Cassano and the Princess Colonna, the first of great age, the other just past her youth, and both of them mirrors of ancient virtue, overwhelmed by their sorrow, went in mourning to the queen, and together entreated her in broken accents to this effect: "Your Majesty may as a mother feel for our grief, the mothers of unfortunate children who have now been languishing four years in dungeons, and we hardly know whether they are alive. Their families wear mourning, and whether parents, sisters or kindred, we take no repose, nor has a smile been seen on our lips since that first fatal night. Have pity on us, and restore us our children and our peace of mind, and God will reward you for this mercy, by the happiness of your own children." "Were they guilty?" asked the queen. Eager to reply, both ladies exclaimed, "Their innocence is proved by the silence of the inquisitors, by the tender age of our sons, by the purity of their lives, their piety towards God, their obedience to us, and that no stain or fault, not even the trifling errors which may be pardoned in inexperienced youths, can be laid to their charge." They could add no more, but overcome by their grief, took leave. The queen was more moved by the heart-rending looks and noble character of these ladies than by their words; and though not disposed to pardon the accused if guilty, began to believe in their innocence. Inflexible towards crime, she had no desire to persecute the innocent, differing in this respect from her agents, who derived their power and influence from the general misery. Ferdinand and Caroline sincerely believed those who had been arrested were traitors, and could not at this period be charged with injustice, though a few months later when they were no longer deceived but had their eyes opened, while putting their subjects to the torture, innocent and guilty alike, they were actuated by the spirit of party and an insatiable thirst for power.

But in 1798, their minds and hearts were as yet less hard, and the king having been informed of the words of these two ladies, ordered the Junta of State to expedite the proceedings of those accused of treason, who had now been languishing in the prisons four years; "by which justice had been suspended, an example productive of serious mischief, and perhaps occasioning unmerited

suffering to our unhappy subjects." The style of these commands breathing pity was so new and unexpected that they alarmed the Junta, for all alike tremble under a despotic government, those who exercise, as well as those who are forced to suffer oppression. The two chief inquisitors, Casteleicala and Vanni, accordingly met in consultation. Nothing had been proved in the procès, and fearing the anger of the sovereigns, the popular outcry, and the vengeance of the accused, they agreed to shield themselves by resorting to violent and desperate measures. When, on the following day, they met in court, the king's message was read aloud to ail, and they were desired to expedite their report, when Vanni observed: "The procès, which are at least equal in number to the accused, are now completed as far as the inquisitor is concerned; but to be wholly satisfactory, the proof by torture is still wanting, which wise legislators have enjoined as indispensable in crimes of treason, and even where there is an abundance of other proofs. This mode of extracting evidence is therefore in accordance with law, and is the more necessary in the present conjuncture, because we have to deal with criminals resolved on denying the truth or maintaining silence, as a promise of secrecy common to all seals the lips of these wretches, but the force of justice and torture will unloose their tongues, kept silent by an unrighteous oath. I, armed with the authority granted me by my king, as inquisitor and procurator-fiscal, demand that the principal criminals, the Chevalier Luigi de' Medici, the Duke di Canzano, the Abate Teodoro Monticelli, and Michele Sciaronne, shall be put to the trial of torture after the severest manner prescribed by law, under the formula *torqueri acriter adhibitis quatuor funiculis*; after which act, the proceeding having been completed, I shall ask in the name of my king for such farther examinations as I shall consider necessary to establish the integrity of the evidence. Do not, gentlemen, from any weak scruple, hesitate to put criminals to the torture, whom you yourselves will shortly condemn to a greater and still more merited suffering, when we cease to discuss the procès, and treat of the final sentence." Starting from his seat, Vanni turned his sallow and stony features, with eyes which glared like those of a wild beast, round upon the assembly, and added: "It is now two months since I have slept, less from the labour of these procès, than

from anxiety for the dangers incurred by my sovereign, and yet you, gentlemen, can feel pity for such perfidious wretches, who, if aided by fortune and not overtaken by justice, would have subverted all held most sacred ; therefore, repeating my proposal, that the principal criminals should be put to the torture, I exhort you to act with justice and loyalty towards the king, and with that courage which is the noblest attribute in judges called upon to save a kingdom."

The magistrate, Mazzocchi, president of the junta, replied to Vanni: "The words, *my* sovereign, are ever on your lips, and under a pretence of zeal, you conceal violence and pride ; from henceforth it were better to say *our* sovereign ;" then turning to the judges, he asked their vote on the motion of Vanni, which was unanimously rejected, as barbarous and useless, since the inquisitors had so often sifted the proofs ; and the crimes and criminals were already clearly established. One voice alone, that of the Prince di Casteleicala, was raised in a menacing tone, while supporting the arguments of the inquisitor, and adding his own, he declared the demand for torture to be just and necessary, and denounced the decision of the judges as weak and criminal ; he tried to rouse their consciences and fears by declaring that the king would take vengeance on them, and he employed all the arts of seduction which he himself has perhaps now forgotten, but which, recorded in history, will hand his name down from age to age with merited infamy. Casteleicala desired the torture of Medici in the hope that he would die under it from shame and misery, or that if he survived he would be rendered incapable of continuing in office, if for no other reason, from the disgraceful nature of his punishment. But the majority of the judges were firm in their vote, and the Junta replied to the royal message, that the procès were completed according to law, and were as ample as the ingenuity and skill of the inquisitors could devise. Nothing was now wanting but the final trial, as this Junta had only been appointed for the purpose of inquiry. The king accordingly framed another Junta, in which Vanni was again appointed procurator-fiscal. The procès which had been declared complete, and which were now sent up for discussion, included the cases of twenty-eight accused persons, among whom were the names of men of high birth, such as Medici, Canzano, Di Gennaro, Colonna, Cassano ; and of others distinguished

for learning, Mario Pagano, Ignazio Ciaja, Domenico Bisceglie, and Teodoro Monticelli. The procurator-fiscal began with stating the accusations, the nature of the crimes, and the proofs which had been collected; he proceeded to expatiate upon them, and taking the part against the accused, passed over in silence all that might have been said in their favour, and demanded death for five, to be preceded by torture, "*without mercy, as upon dead bodies,*" both to increase their punishment, and to extract from them the names of accomplices or abettors. For reasons already stated, but which he now repeated with greater vehemence, he proposed only torture to be applied to Medici and three others pointed out by the Junta of inquiry. For nineteen more, prolonged imprisonment and further examination, in the hope of extracting more ample proofs by confessions under torture and from time. The advocates pleaded the cause of the accused, and although they were men appointed by the king, and devotedly attached to the monarchy, they were interrupted by a torrent of abuse from Vanni, but courageously supported the side of the accused. The judges gave a just sentence, acquitting the prisoners, and restoring them to liberty. Such a general outcry of sympathy was raised by the appearance of these twenty-eight persons leaving their penal dungeons, by the proof of the injustice of their imprisonment, by the death of some of the unhappy victims, and by the account of their sufferings, that the Government, in order to exculpate themselves, joined their voice of indignation to that of the people, and pointing to Vanni as the author of the false accusations, deposed him from his office, banished him from the city, and overwhelmed him with every mark of disgrace. The Prince di Castelvicala, his associate in guilt, escaped by throwing all the blame on his unfortunate friend. General Acton pretended to retire from the burdens of State, and another set of men and other forms were introduced in the Cabinet; but the policy of the government was unaltered. The dungeons were relieved of a few prisoners, but were replenished with more, and bad men continued to be retained in the pay of the government, as neither the system of spies, police, nor informers were abolished, nor even their numbers diminished; Castelvicala was minister of justice, and large stipends and consolatory promises were secretly sent to Vanni.

In the midst of these unhappy occurrences in the city, news arrived that the French fleet had reached Egypt, and that Bonaparte had landed with forty thousand soldiers, and was on his way to Alexandria. The aim of this enterprise being thus discovered, the fears of the Neapolitan government were relieved by seeing the danger removed from Sicily; and they welcomed and spread a report invented by malice, that this was a stratagem of the Directory to rid the Republic of an ambitious and powerful man, by sending him to a country where he must either lose his reputation or his life by the number of the enemy, and a pestiferous and invincible climate. A few days later arrived tidings of the battle of Aboukir, in which by a bold manœuvre the English admiral Nelson, had seized and burnt the ships of France, which had anchored in the roadstead after the disembarkation of the troops, and unwisely deemed themselves secure from attack. Several ships of the line escaped to Malta, and a few of the transport ships sought refuge in the Sicilian roadsteads of Trapani and Girgenti, where the inhabitants, unfaithful to the treaty, pitiless towards the misfortunes of the French, and deaf to the claims of hospitality, received them as enemies, refused them shelter, plundered the miserable remnant of those who had been defeated, murdered some of the seamen, and drove the rest from their coasts. In Naples, meanwhile, the particulars of the battle were joyfully announced. Soon afterwards an English fleet, the same which had conquered at Aboukir, increased by the captured ships which without a flag followed in the wake of their proud conquerors, was seen making sail towards our coasts. Immediately the king, the queen, and the English ambassador with his wife, went out a long way to meet the victor, in ships decorated as for a festival, and went on board his vessel to do him honour. The king presented him with a rich sword, and loaded him with so many words of commendation, that he could not have said more had the victory been that of his own fleet, for the salvation of the kingdom; the queen presented him with costly gifts, and among them a jewel, with the motto, "To the hero of Aboukir;" the ambassador, Sir William Hamilton, thanked him in the name of England, and his beautiful lady expressed her deep-felt admiration. All Naples hastened to the palace, and the city was in a tumult of joy. In the evening



the great theatre was illuminated, as was usual on occasions of national or royal rejoicings. When the king and queen entered, accompanied by Nelson, the people received them with loud cheers, mingling the sounds of their names and deeds. The queen, the ladies of the court, and the nobility, wore ribbons or jewelled girdles, with the inscription, "Long live Nelson." Meantime the victorious ships and the captured vessels dropped their anchors in the port, contrary to the terms of the treaty ; and the ambassador of France, Garat, who had been a spectator of all which had taken place, and of the contempt with which the conditions of peace between the two governments had been treated, then thought it time to make a well-grounded complaint to the ministers of Naples, but was answered that the English ships had been thus received only because Admiral Nelson had threatened to bombard the city, if anchorage had been refused ; and no apology nor explanation followed for the public demonstrations of joy at the success of *the enemy*.

## CHAPTER III.

DISASTROUS WAR WITH THE FRENCH REPUBLIC—INSURRECTIONS IN THE KINGDOM—FLIGHT OF THE KING—VICTORY AND TRIUMPH OF THE ARMS OF FRANCE.

1798—1799.

A NEW confederation against France having been formed in Europe, and immediate war resolved on, the Neapolitan government threw off all disguise. The kings of England, Austria, Russia, and the Sicilies, finding the French troops were diminished in Italy to increase the army of the Rhine, or sent into Egypt, and that Bonaparte was removed to a distance, collected fresh armies and prepared for greater operations. Germany agreed to send sixty thousand men to Lombardy, with Russian troops in their rear, and Naples promised forty thousand, whilst the English fleet was to cruise in the seas of Italy. Great Britain was to supply the allies with money, arms, and clothing, and the armies only waited until the severest months of winter had passed.

In September 1798 a fresh levy of forty thousand conscripts had been raised in Naples, but in such haste, that, setting aside law and justice, citizens were taken from the communes, and sons from their families, at the arbitrary bidding of the ministers or to satisfy the exigency of the hour. In a single day, the 2d September, every commune, without receiving previous intimation, and without inquiring into their capabilities, was obliged to furnish eight men in every thousand souls; the consequence of which arbitrary treatment was an infinity of malpractices and blunders followed by great dissatisfaction and complaints. The conscripts, remembering the injustice to which they had been subjected, considered themselves the victims of superior force, and not feeling bound to the army by duty, by their oaths, or by law, only

continued to serve from the fear of punishment. The new levy added to the old soldiers, raised the numbers of the army to seventy-five thousand ; more than enough to fulfil the terms of the alliance, though falling short of what was expected. These numerous troops were in want of a leader, when General Mack arrived from Austria. He was celebrated in the wars of Germany, where although always defeated he had acquired a reputation for military science and valour. Received with honour by the king, the court, and the army, he reviewed the troops in separate detachments, while neglecting the frontiers, as he was less intent on defence than conquest. He consulted General Parisi on the plan of the campaign, General de Gambs on the state of the infantry, the princes of Saxony and Philipstadt on the cavalry, and General Fonseca on the artillery. He spoke little, but his words were echoed from mouth to mouth, as the responses of an oracle ; and he told the king, who implicitly believed him, that he possessed an army ready prepared for war.

The queen, who was restlessly impatient, proposed at once to invade the Roman territory, and she was supported in this view by the English, because, resolved on war, they feared the Congress already convoked to meet at Rastadt, might lead to peace : since September, therefore, Baron Auerweck, a gentleman in the confidence of Pitt, had been in Naples ; though only an obscure traveller, he possessed great influence, as the friend of Repnin, minister of Prussia,<sup>1</sup> and of Metternich of Austria ; he was among the first to sow discord in the conferences at Rastadt, and had the ear of the king and queen of Naples. Ferdinand, whose eager desire for repose had cooled, since rage and fear had led him in some degree to abandon his life of sensual indulgence, called a council to decide upon war or peace, and if war, the time and means. Opinions differed ; the Marquis del Gallo, the Minister de Marco, the Generals Pignatelli, Colli, and Parisi were for peace ; but the influence of the queen, and the opinions of Acton, Mack, and Castelleicala, carried the day, and instant war was decided on, to be conducted by General Mack, but not declared until the troops had begun to move. The army was divided into three camps ; twenty-

<sup>1</sup> *Repinin*. Prince Nicolai Wasiliewitsch Repnin was not Prussian minister, but Russian agent from the Emperor Paul

at Berlin.—See Schlosser, *Geschichte der xviii. ten Jahrhundert*, vol. vi. p. 153.

two thousand soldiers were ordered to stand prepared at San Germano; sixteen thousand in the Abruzzi, and eight thousand in the plain of Sessa; while six thousand more remained in quarters at Gaeta; and transport ships were made ready to sail for Leghorn. General Mack took the command of the first camp, General Micheroux was appointed to the second, and General Damas to the third, while General Naselli was placed at the head of the expedition to sail from Gaeta. Fifty-two thousand soldiers were ready at a signal to burst into the Roman States, but their commander-in-chief was a foreigner and strange to them; his generals were either likewise foreigners or ignorant of war, the officers inexperienced and the new conscripts dissatisfied; while the old soldiers were in a still worse condition, from habits engendered by defective discipline and a life of idleness and license: they had no military habits; the rules by which soldiers are dispersed in their quarters, the means to provide shelter against the inclemency of the weather, to secure as much repose as possible, to prepare food, or, in short, the whole art of living under any circumstances, so necessary to support the strength of the men, was neither practised nor understood. The commissariat department was so badly conducted, that it increased the disorder; the distribution of food was uncertain, and the quantity brought to the camps was not commensurate to the demand; so that abundance was often found where the consumers were few, while there was a scarcity in the adjoining quarters: a secret poison was stealing through the army in the shape of mutual distrust between the subordinates and their chiefs. The soldiers stationed in the Abruzzi were divided in three camps; upon the Tronto, the Aquila, and at Tagliacozzo. The troops in the camp of San Germano were constantly exercised; and although the ground in autumn was soft and muddy, from the heavy rains, attacks and defences were carried on as in war. The king had taken up his quarters in this camp, prepared to march with the army; and the queen, attired in a riding-habit, constantly drove along the lines in a chariot and four, accompanied by the ambassadors from friendly sovereigns, and other foreigners of distinction, the barons of the kingdom, and Lady Hamilton, who, under pretence of escorting her Majesty, displayed her own beauty in all its magnificence to the camp, and paraded her conquest over the

victor of Aboukir, who, seated beside her in the same carriage, appeared fascinated and submissive to her charms. Nor were the troops in the quarters at Sessa and in the fortress at Gaeta allowed to remain idle; but though continually at exercise, time was wanting to train them into good soldiers. It was found that men whose hands had been inured to the rude labour of the pick-axe, raised by conscription in September, and forced to join in October, were yet unskilled in the use of arms, when sent into active service in November.

When the French saw the preparations of the King of Naples, they disposed their troops along the frontier, so as to form a line of defence, their centre being at Terni, their extreme right at Terracina, and their extreme left at Fermo; the left wing was strengthened for resistance, while the right was only to be employed as a corps of observation, and was therefore formed less for defence than retreat; their principal duty being to maintain their forces together, and secure the roads leading into Lombardy; after which they were ordered to wait the turn of events.

War being thus certain, although not yet declared, the French ambassador asked the reason of these preparations on the part of the Neapolitan Government, who, still dissembling, replied that the troops were placed on the Neapolitan frontiers because the frontiers on the Roman side were occupied by French soldiers, and that the camps were formed to train the new levies, but that Naples continued to desire peace with the Republic. A few days later, on the 22d December, appeared a royal manifesto, in which, after alluding to the convulsions in France, the political changes in Italy, the vicinity of the foes to monarchy and peace, the seizure of Malta (a fief of the King of Sicily), the flight of the Pontiff, and the dangers to religion, declared, that for these numerous and cogent reasons, the king meant to lead an army into the Roman States, in order to restore their lawful sovereign to the people, the head of the Church to the Holy See, and peace to the inhabitants of the Sicilies. This was not a war against a European potentate, and the king, therefore, exhorted foreign armies not to oppose the Neapolitan troops, which only intended to advance as far as was necessary to effect their object, in restoring peace to that part of Italy. He conjured the Roman people to show

themselves friendly towards the Neapolitans, to be ready to rise at his bidding, and rely on his clemency ; and he promised to receive the wanderers from the right path with paternal indulgence, provided they voluntarily submitted themselves to justice and the laws.

Besides this manifesto, letters from the ministers of the Crown were sent privately to the other cabinets of Italy, and to all who were exposed to danger from the hostility of the French, and the war. One of these letters, addressed by the Prince Belmonte Pignatelli to the Chevalier Priocca, minister of the king of Piedmont, was intercepted and published ; it contained, among other important matters, these words : “ We are aware that in the cabinet of the king your master, there are many prudent, not to say timid ministers, who shrink with horror from the words perjury and assassination, as if the recent treaty of alliance between France and Sardinia were a political act worthy of respect. Was it not dictated by the superior force of the conqueror ? Was it not accepted only because you were obliged to yield to necessity ? Treaties such as these, are insults to the fallen from those in power ; and by violating them, you only seize the first opportunity presented by fortune to regain your former position. How can you, in the presence of your king, a prisoner in his capital, surrounded by hostile bayonets, call it perjury to break promises wrung from you by necessity, and disapproved of by your consciences ; and is it assassination to exterminate your tyrants ? Are there no lawful means by which the weak may resist the force by which they are oppressed ? ” And a few lines farther on : “ The French battalions trusting in the peace, careless and secure, are scattered throughout Piedmont. Rouse the patriotism of the people to enthusiasm and fury ; let every Piedmontese aspire to the honour of trampling down an enemy of his country. These partial massacres will be of more advantage to Piedmont than successful battles ; nor will the justice of posterity stigmatize with the hideous name of treachery, the energetic deed of a whole people, who march over the corpses of their oppressors to the recovery of their liberty.

“ Our brave Neapolitans, conducted by the valiant General Mack, will be the first to sound the tocsin against the enemies of

thrones and the people. They will perhaps have already begun to move when this despatch reaches you."

Such were the atrocious purposes revealed in these despatches ; and the manifesto of war having been already published, the Neapolitan troops, raising their camps, poured into the States of Rome. General Micheroux with ten thousand men forded the Tronto, and driving a small French garrison from the city of Ascoli, advanced by the Strada Emilia upon Fermo ; Colonel Sanfilippo with four thousand men left the camp of Aquila to occupy Rieti, and approached Terni ; Colonel Giustini, with a regiment of infantry and a small body of horse, descended from Tagliacozzo to Tivoli, and scoured the Sabine country ; while General Mack, accompanied by the king and twenty-two thousand soldiers, left San Germano and marched by the difficult roads of Ceperano and Frosinone upon Rome, towards which General Damas was conducting eight thousand men from the camp of Sessa by the Via Pontina. That same day several ships, having six thousand soldiers on board under the command of General Naselli, set sail from Gaeta for Leghorn. The order of march described, proves that the army of Naples did not advance in line, and had no centre of operations ; the troops of Sanfilippo and Giustini were too weak to allow the right and left wings to communicate. The corps under Micheroux, though an insufficient force, was to attack the French left, which was the strongest of the three divisions of their army, and the main force of the Neapolitans, thirty thousand men, was proceeding to the attack of the right wing of the enemy, which was weakly formed, and had orders to retreat. Mack proposed to defeat the extremities of the French lines, to throw them into disorder, and drive one corps back upon another, thus create confusion in the centre and put them to the rout, whilst the legion of General Naselli, uniting with the Tuscan insurgents, would attack the flank of the French army in its flight towards Perugia. The conformation of the frontier, the extended line of the French army, their base of operations in Lombardy, and the number of our forces being almost three times that of the enemy, invited us rather to break their centre, and prevent them receiving succour by attacking their camp upon its flank, and if favoured by fortune, cut off their retreat into Lombardy. To effect

this, the army should have been divided into three corps,—twenty-six thousand men at Aquila to attack Rieti and Terni, twelve thousand upon the Strada Emilia to engage the left wing of the French, and eight thousand in the Pontine marshes to press upon the small divisions of the enemy's right wing, whilst the legion of Tuscany, without an enemy to contend with, and the people on their side, could have traversed the country as far as Perugia, and been prepared to assist if required in the various chances of war. The inexperienced and raw troops of Naples could only thus, by strategical skill and the weight of their numbers, have been enabled to subdue the disciplined and successful army of France. The final result of the war would have eventually depended on the risings prepared in Piedmont, and on the arrival of the Germans in Italy.

Reason and science would have advised this course; but now let us turn to facts. The corps of Mack and Damas, thirty thousand men, marching in parallel lines, without encountering the enemy, who was hastily retreating, arrived on the 29th November in Rome, where the king made his entry in state, and took up his abode in his own palace, the Farnesina. The French, after leaving a small garrison in the castle of St. Angelo, had departed, and with them the leaders and friends of the Republic; a few, rashly trusting to the royal promises of mercy, lingered behind, and were that same day thrown into prison or put to death; two brothers of the name of Corona, Neapolitans and liberals, who had remained, confiding too much in their king, were by his command seized and executed. The rabble let loose pillaged the houses in the name of religion and loyalty to the pontiff, murdered the citizens, drowned several Jews in the Tiber, and were guilty of many crimes, to the disgrace of the conqueror, who at length appointed the Princes Borghese and Gabrielli, and the Marquises Massimi and Ricci, to form a junta of safety, which though too late checked the excesses of the mob. All signs of the late Republic disappeared; the cross rose where the tree of liberty had stood, and the emblems and arms of the Pontiff with those of the King of the Sicilies, were raised on the towers and public edifices. Messengers were sent to Naples with the news of the victory, and to order solemn prayers and thanksgivings in the



churches; and despatches were written to the Pope containing words as follows: "Your Holiness will learn by this letter, that aided by the Divine grace and by the miraculous interposition of St. Januarius, we have with our army this day triumphantly entered the sacred city of Rome, so lately profaned by impious men, who have fled terrified by the appearance of the Cross and by my arms: your Holiness may therefore resume the supreme and paternal power, which I will shield with my army. Leave then your too modest abode in the Carthusian monastery, and like our Lady of Loretto borne upon the wings of the cherubim, descend into the Vatican and purify it with your holy presence. All is prepared for your reception; and your Holiness may celebrate Divine service on the day of our Saviour's birth." A third despatch in the name of the king, was written by his minister Prince Belmonte Pignatelli to the ministers of the king of Sardinia, to inform them, among other matters,—“That the Neapolitans, led by General Mack, had been the first to toll the knell of the French, and to apprise Europe from the summit of the Capitol, that the hour of the sovereigns is now arrived. Unhappy Piedmontese, shake off your chains, break them in pieces, and crush your oppressors; answer to the invitation of the king of Naples.” These gasconades will give some idea of the blind rage and vanity of the king and his minister.

While these despatches were yet on their way, the enemy was obtaining successes in the Abruzzi. General Micheroux, his forces somewhat diminished by disasters and sickness, arrived in the vicinity of Fermo with nine thousand soldiers, and found the French troops under the command of Generals Mounier, Rusca, and Casabianca, prepared for their reception, and ranged in order of battle; the fight commencing, the result was neither doubtful nor slow, for as the numbers were equal, the French superior in the use of arms, and the Neapolitans badly officered and mistrustful of their leaders, these last took to flight, leaving a few dead upon the field, and many prisoners, besides guns and standards. The remnant of the column sought shelter in the mountains of the Abruzzi, where a small detachment of the enemy sufficed to keep them at bay, the larger number of the French having already departed to reinforce the centre and right wing of their line.

Towards this centre Colonel Sanfilippo was advancing, after having obtained possession of Rieti without opposition; he was proceeding along the defile of Terni, guarded by General Lemoine with a small detachment, when the arrival of General Dufresse to the aid of the French with half a brigade, consisting of two thousand four hundred men, made the forces equal on either side, and the fate of Sanfilippo, like that of Micheroux, proved disastrous. Colonel Giustini was stopped at Vicovaro by General Kellerman, and applied for assistance to the troops of Sanfilippo, but learning that their leader was a prisoner, that his men had fled, and that Rieti was again in the hands of the French, he hastened along the banks of the Tiber, and thence to Tivoli.

The French army which had all this time engaged the Neapolitans with equal numbers, and, as was to be expected, always conquered, had thus secured the safety of their left wing; and no longer obliged to communicate by circuitous routes, but proceeding by the direct road, they re-formed their right in Civita Castellana, and in the adjoining mountains, where they took up a strong position, from the nature of the ground and the fortifications. They were seven thousand men with two thousand volunteers, all ready to conquer, or if necessary to die, and commanded by General Macdonald, already distinguished in the wars of Germany and Italy. Behind them at some distance, and with the rugged mountains of the Apennines between him and them, hovered the commander-in-chief, General Championnet, who having left General Duhesme with six thousand soldiers to conquer in the Abruzzi, advanced with another eight thousand to the aid of Macdonald. A small squadron was placed in the city of Perugia as a vidette, to watch the movements of the legion landed at Leghorn, and the expected risings of the people. But neither the Neapolitan soldiers, nor the efforts of the English, nor the hatred of the people, availed against the French in Tuscany. On the 20th September, the fleets of Naples and England, confident in their numbers, arrived at Leghorn, and asked permission to land their soldiers and cannon. The Tuscan government, at that time at peace with France, submitted to superior force, or pretended to do so, and issued a manifesto, by which they declared, that they suffered the disembarkation of the soldiers, not from

any contempt of the neutrality, but from inability to offer any resistance, and further, that they intended to maintain their independence, and commit their rights to justice and to God. By another edict, they increased the army, raised a militia, provided for the security of the subjects, and then waited the termination of the war in Rome. General Naselli remained stationary, waiting, as he had been ordered, the commands of Mack, who, incapable of carrying out strategical combinations on an extended scale, and perplexed by the rapidity of his own success, forgot that legion of at least six thousand soldiers, who were idling their time at Leghorn. Mack and the king were for the first time enjoying the pleasures of a triumph in Rome; and as if the war were ended, they allowed five days to elapse without taking any steps against Macdonald; only demanding the surrender of the castle of St. Angelo, and sending threatening messages to the garrison. The words of the challenge sent by Lieutenant Bourcard to Lieutenant-Colonel Walter, commanding in the fort, are worthy of remembrance: "The French soldiers invalided in the hospitals of Rome shall be retained as hostages, and every cannonade from the castle shall cost the life of one of them in reprisal, or he shall be consigned to the just fury of the people." A copy of this challenge, signed by Mack, was sent to General Championnet, and published by him to the French army, increased the barbarities incident to war. The castle refusing to surrender, both sides commenced firing, but only random shots; and on the 3d December the army of Naples withdrew from Rome. Six thousand soldiers remained to guard the king, and as the troops of Colonel Giustini had rejoined the army, twenty-five thousand men advanced against Civita Castellana.

They were formed into five corps. Any leader but Mack (taught a lesson, if by nothing else, by the events of this campaign) would have summoned the legion of Naselli from Tuscany to advance upon Perugia, would have conducted the main body of his army along the left bank of the Tiber, and encamped at Terni, where he might have engaged the small detachment of Macdonald with three times their number, before Championnet could have descended from the Apennines. But in place of this, the headstrong commander-in-chief of the ill-fated Neapolitans sent a hand-

ful of soldiers along the Tiber, and divided the remaining twenty-two thousand in four corps, which after a few skirmishes encamped at Calvi, Monte-Buono, Otricoli, and Regnano; and for five days continued inactive in these positions, or attacked the enemy's camp in separate detachments. What Mack hoped thereby to effect remains a mystery. But the French general, who was at first prepared to act on the defensive, altered his plan, and attacked our camps one after the other. All were defeated and fled before him, as he assaulted each separately with equal or superior forces, and greater skill and good fortune. The first to fall was Otricoli, the next Calvi, and the last Monte-Buono. General Mack had diminished the camp at Regnano, by withdrawing the greater number of the troops to unite them with those who were re-ascending the right bank of the Tiber, intending to establish them at Cantalupi. This idea was the only scheme worthy of praise during the campaign; but hearing on the road of the disasters which had befallen his troops, he ordered the general to retreat upon Rome. This was the 13th December, and the Neapolitans had during the eight preceding days been weakened by severe engagements, all of which had redounded to the honour of the French arms, and with a loss to us of a thousand men killed, nine hundred wounded, ten thousand prisoners, thirty cannon, nine standards, besides horses, muskets, and an immense quantity of matériel. At Otricoli alone they had been successful for a few hours, as they had surprised the French garrison of two hundred men, killed the larger number and taken the rest prisoners; either by the barbarity of the inhabitants or by chance the hospital caught fire, and the sick perished in the flames, giving rise to a report that the ferocious challenge sent by General Bourcard was not a mere menace but a reality. This false tale was believed by the French, and added ferocity to the crimes inherent in war. The retreat of Mack commenced that same day. The Neapolitans, always defeated, always unfortunate, and led by foreigners, with many French generals and colonels in their ranks, most of whom were emigrants eager to escape the dangers of a prison, and therefore hastening the retreat, suspected they were betrayed, and like all armies credulous of evil, called their leaders Jacobins, and became disorderly; from that moment subordination decreased or was at an end. To these evils

were added scarcity of provisions, the ignorance and frauds of the commissariat, the loss of convoys, and magazines abandoned or plundered by the licentious and mutinous soldiery.

When these news reached Rome, the people either sincerely in favour of a republic, or from prudence, showed themselves inclined for the French. King Ferdinand, therefore, a coward at heart, and who from the 7th had taken up his quarters at Albano, became alarmed, and on the evening of the 10th fled in the direction of Naples. He told the Duke d'Ascoli, who was in attendance upon him, that the Jacobins aimed at his life, and had sworn to kill all kings, and assured him that it would be an honour for a subject to expose his own life to save that of his sovereign; he then persuaded him to change dresses with him, and assume his deportment, so that during the journey he might pass for the king, and he himself for his attendant. The courtier was delighted, and attired in the royal garments, sat on the right in the carriage, whilst the king, taught by his fears, showed him the utmost respect, and paid him the homage of a subject. Ferdinand arrived in this humiliating disguise at Caserta, on the evening of the 11th. Meantime the Neapolitan troops reached Rome, and hastily passed through the city, pursued by the French; so hot was the pursuit, that as the vanquished passed out at one gate the conquerors entered by another. General Championnet had joined Macdonald, and whilst they were arriving in such force at Rome, they heard that the legion of seven thousand Neapolitans, under General Damas, who had been forgotten by Mack or abandoned in his precipitate flight, were hastening their march to arrive before the French, but had failed. Damas, by a herald, demanded a free passage for his troops, which, if refused, he declared he would obtain by force, but received for answer, that when he laid down his arms and yielded himself prisoner, the French would consent to treat with him, and their representatives would arrange the terms of the truce. Championnet wished for delay, to allow the arrival of more troops in the city, as his numbers were still few and fatigued. General Damas, who had already determined to change his route, equally desired delay, to prepare his soldiers for a difficult retreat, in the face of a successful army, double his numbers; the hours passed as if by agreement, whilst both armies were preparing for the contest.

At an opportune moment Damas cautiously but boldly took the road for Orbitello, a distant fortress, at that time belonging to the King of Naples. He was pursued by the French, eager for the prey of which they had thought themselves secure, when it escaped from their hands; having overtaken the rear at Storta, they attacked the Neapolitans, but night coming on Damas continued his march, and the French reposed, leaving both their dead and wounded on the field. The following day, another body of French arrived from Borghetto, under General Kellerman, hoping to intercept the Neapolitans, and came up with them at Toscanella, where many on either side perished in the fight, and General Damas had his cheek wounded by a grape-shot. The legion continuing on their way reached Orbitello, but found the fortress without stores or victuals; and the terms they obtained from the enemy, and by which they were enabled to depart unconditionally, were less due to the strength of the walls, than a reward for the valour displayed by the soldiers and their leader. About the same time, the legion of General Naselli sailed from Leghorn on board English vessels, and thus every possibility of carrying on an offensive war being at an end, Mack turned his cares to the defence of the kingdom.

He was now, however, conscious of his error in having after the manner of the barbarians made an incursion into the country without a base of operations, eager for conquest and secure of success, while neglecting the restoration of the fortresses, military works within the kingdom, and all the artificial means suggested by science and experience. Even during the adversities he had sustained in the Roman States, he had neglected the defences of the Neapolitan kingdom; and careless amidst disaster, the hour arrived when it became necessary to protect the country, and found the fortresses unprepared, the frontiers exposed, and the strongholds imperfectly provisioned and garrisoned. He waited till he could reassemble the fugitives, and with the legions of Damas and Naselli, which had returned entire, and other squadrons which had not yet been engaged, together with the large remnant of his discomfited troops, he could form a fresh army, more numerous than that which General Championnet was preparing against us. After re-establishing the Republic in Rome, and punishing

some acts of treachery, Championnet ordered a religious ceremony to be performed at the restoration of the ruined sepulchres of Duphot and Basville, upon which occasion he pronounced a eulogium on the conduct of his troops; and after allowing them a brief interval of repose from their fatigues, he prepared his army for an invasion of the Neapolitan kingdom. He had twenty-five thousand soldiers at his disposal, divided into two corps; one in the Abruzzi, composed of eight thousand men, with General Duhesme at their head; the other of seventeen thousand, commanded by Roy and Macdonald, lined the lower frontier of the Garigliano; Championnet himself accompanied the legion of Macdonald. He was well supplied with artillery and provisions, besides having the advantage in possessing officers superior to ours in genius and military science. The French were only deficient in numbers, but their valour and good fortune, and the discouragement and failures of their opponents, compensated for this defect. Everything having been arranged, Championnet started on his expedition, though at a hazardous moment; from the risings in Piedmont, the breaking up of the conferences at Rastadt, the armaments of Austria, and the smallness of the Republican force in Lombardy; but fortune made amends for what was wanting in prudence.

On the 20th December, the whole French army started in the direction of Naples. General Duhesme entering the Abruzzi, threatened the fort of Civitella, situated upon the summit of an eminence upon the Tronto; inaccessible on two sides, it was fortified on the remaining two, and being provided with a sufficient garrison, ten great cannon, ample stores of ammunition, and provisions from the adjoining city, was prepared to stand a long siege, even had the enemy had artillery and means equal to such an enterprise. But the French could only hope to succeed by threats and the terror of their name, as it was impossible to convey heavy brass cannon up such a height, over precipitous ground, where there was no carriage road, and hardly a path. The commander of the fort was well aware of their difficulties, but panic-struck, and with the example before him of many acts of cowardice allowed to go unpunished, he demanded terms of the enemy, and after only eighteen hours' investment, surrendered himself with the whole garrison prisoners of war. He was a

Spaniard of the name of Giovanni Lacombe, lieutenant-colonel in the pay of the King of Naples. After gaining possession of Civitella, General Duhesme advanced further into the Abruzzi, and repulsed or dispersed numerous bands of armed peasantry; he at length reached the river Pescara, which though at first contested, was soon abandoned, and was immediately forded by the French. Duhesme making a display of his soldiers and artillery, which only consisted of field guns, demanded the surrender of the fortress, bearing the same name as the river. The commander, anxious to prove his intrepidity, led the herald round the fortifications, and pointing to the arms, the garrison, and well-filled magazines, said: "A fortress so well supplied and provisioned does not surrender." After receiving this message, the enemy redoubled his hostile demonstrations, upon which the commander, changing his defiant tone, raised the standard of peace, and yielded the fortress uninjured and entire to the conqueror, with sixty great brass and ten iron pieces, four mortars, besides other arms, powder, clothing, and provisions, and one thousand nine hundred soldiers prisoners. The commander was Colonel Pricard, also a foreigner, who owed his elevated position to the unhappy state of the country, and to the contempt in which we were held by our rulers.

Whilst Duhesme was thus engaged, General Mounier was traversing the rugged path which leads across the mountains of Téramo to Civita di Penna; and General Rusca, by a still more difficult road, was on his way to Aquila and Torre di Passeri. They feared no danger from a retreating foe; but General Lemoine, upon his arrival at Popoli, found a strong corps of Neapolitan soldiers prepared for his reception, and an engagement ensuing, the French General Point was killed, and victory was yet doubtful, when, our evil destiny prevailing, a cry of treachery was raised along the Neapolitan lines, and the soldiers quitting the field in the most critical moment of the battle, fled in disorder by Isernia and Bojano to Benevento. The French were thus advancing in the Abruzzi, and meantime part of their right wing, under General Rey, was crossing the Pontine Marshes, and the rest, under General Macdonald, marching by Frosinone and Ceperano, without encountering any opposition. The King of Naples did not suppose it possible that the enemy, already occupied in



Piedmont, and menaced in Lombardy, would venture to advance with so small a force ; but on hearing of his losses in the Abruzzi, he immediately proclaimed a war of extermination. The proclamation was dated Rome, the 8th December, but was in reality written later at Caserta, and ran as follows : “ Whilst I am in the act of restoring the Holy Church in the capital of the Christian world, the French, with whom I have done my utmost to live at peace, threaten to penetrate into the Abruzzi. I am therefore hastening thither with a powerful army to annihilate them ; but meantime let the people take up arms, succour the cause of religion, and defend their king and father, fighting for his life, but which he is ready to sacrifice to preserve the altars and property of his subjects, their liberty, and the honour of their women. Remember your ancient valour. Whoever shall refuse to join the standard and the levy *en masse*, will be punished as a rebel towards us, and as an enemy of the Church and State.”

This edict acted like the voice of God. The people flew to arms ; priests, friars, the most influential persons in the cities or villages, placed themselves at their head, and led them out to war ; and where there was no one of superior station, the boldest spirits took the lead. Shamed by this sight, the soldiers who had fled joined as volunteers, and the numbers, small at first, soon increased, until they became vast multitudes. Excited by one another, and by the hope of booty, they began their work. They had no orders but to fight, no aim but destruction ; they followed, but did not obey their leader, and were influenced by his example rather than commands. Their first deeds were stained by atrocious cruelty, in the massacre of stragglers and sick or wounded French soldiers, besides the commission of acts of treachery ; setting aside all claims of humanity, hospitality, or the rules of war. Encouraged by their first successes, they soon afterwards seized on the city of Téramo ; they next gained possession of the fortified bridge across the Tronto, and loosening the pontoons of which it was constructed, hindered the passage of the rest of the troops ; whilst in Terra di Lavoro, hordes of volunteers collected at Sessa, scoured the region of the Garigliano, burned the wooden bridge, and gained possession of almost all the park of artillery ranged upon the banks, which had been placed there in reserve by the

French ; carrying off the light pieces, they destroyed the remainder, and after putting the French soldiers to death who had been left to guard them, abandoned that part of the country. The communication between the right wing, and three columns of the left wing, was cut off by the Neapolitans, who placed videttes along the road, and murdered the messengers, and straggling parties of the enemy.

The French were astonished, and we ourselves no less so, at this sudden change in the Neapolitan people. Without an army, without a king, without Mack, combatants seemed to spring from the earth, and the same French army, which legions of soldiers had not been able to conquer, had their numbers diminished, and were disheartened in the presence of an almost invisible foe. A fact which excites the wonder of cotemporaries, must appear incredible to posterity, and it is therefore the more necessary for the historian to investigate the reason why the Neapolitans, who shortly before had displayed so much cowardice, now reappeared on the same field against the same enemy, dauntless and resolute. The prowess of an individual may proceed from strength, dexterity, superstition, fatalism, the passion for conquest, or from necessity ; but the prowess of a nation or an army must arise from confidence in those acting with them, or in their leaders. Personal prowess is a gift of nature, that of armies the result of discipline ; the first springs up spontaneously, the last demands time, military institutions, and example : therefore, while valour is not an inherent quality in every race, every army may become valiant. This is acknowledged by all who have studied men and human nature ; it is therefore not to be wondered at if the Neapolitans, who are physically robust and well developed, and most of them mountaineers wearing coarse woollen garments, and subsisting on scanty fare, attached to, and jealous of their wives, devout towards the Church, and loyal (at the time of which I write) to the king, when tempted by rewards and the hope of booty, should be ready to unite and fight for the maintenance of the institutions of their country and for their altars ; the more so, as they were free to return to their homes, might attack the enemy after their own fashion, and were allowed to retain what they earned by their prowess. But in the regular warfare in which they had lately

been engaged, many of them were new conscripts who disliked a soldier's life, and their discontent was shared in by their comrades, since even in the lowest grades of the army all were aware of the ignorance of their leaders, and suspicious of their good faith: they were badly officered, badly fed, in a miserable condition, and were always the losing party; and they had no respect for the profession of a soldier, nor possessed any one quality necessary for an army. This absence of all military virtue was the consequence of errors in former governments, as well as in the present; yet although the people were not to blame, an obloquy was attached to their name, which even the faithful records of history will probably never succeed in effacing. Nations have something of fatalism in their existence, and the doom of the Neapolitans is, I apprehend, to be unfairly judged of by the world.

The left wing of the French, entangled in the Abruzzi, proceeded slowly; the right hastened on towards the Garigliano; General Rey demanded the surrender of the fortress of Gaeta from the governor, Marshal Tschudy, a native Swiss, who had entered the Neapolitan service by the infamous system of traffic which Switzerland carried on with her citizens; he had risen to the high rank he filled by his family connexions, by the slow course of years, and by favour. A foreigner without a military education, and deaf to the call of military honour, he summoned a heterogeneous council, where he listened to the opinion of the bishop, who called himself a minister of peace, and of the municipal magistrates, who were only eager to avoid the dangers of a siege; whereupon the surrender was decided. Whilst this base and timid council was preparing for a betrayal of trust, the French general sent a shot from a six-pounder into the city (not having any larger piece of artillery than a howitzer with him), and at that signal of war, they hastened their deliberations, and raised the flag of surrender, while the governor sent a herald to demand peace upon advantageous terms: but General Rey, now aware of their cowardice, replied, "Either surrender at discretion, or expect the utmost rigour of war." Upon which, 4000 soldiers in a strong fortress, furnished with seventy brass cannon, twelve mortars, 20,000 muskets, and provisions for a year, pontoons, ships in the port, and an immense supply of matériel to stand a siege, surrendered at discretion. The prisoners were con-

veyed to the Castle of St. Angelo, with the exception of the unblushing marshal, who prayed for indulgence for himself and sixty of his officers, and, in reward for having assisted in the surrender, they obtained a disgraceful exemption, and were permitted to depart free, after having sworn never again to serve against the French.

The treasonable surrender of Civitella, Pescara, and Gaeta, roused a hope of equal success before the fortress of Capua; even though General Mack was re-organizing the army behind the river Volturno, and strengthening the fortifications and defences by a vast camp entrenched upon the side facing Rome, which he guarded by 6000 soldiers. General Macdonald therefore advanced to reconnoitre the fortress, and prepared to conquer us as cowards. It was midday, when, attacking the camp with three columns, he threw the troops into disorder, and some of them flying to the gates of the fortress, threatened to beat them down if they did not open to receive them. But from a battery of the camp, where the gunners stood firm before the menaces of the enemy, and refused to follow the bad example of their comrades, there opened a discharge of grape-shot from six cannons within a short range of the enemy, and which was so well directed as to strike down many in the columns of cavalry which were advancing proudly to the charge, while other volleys were fired from the bastions, causing the attacking columns suddenly to retreat: the soldiers in the camp recovering their courage, the battle was restored. The gunners in this battery were native Neapolitans, and their commanding officer was likewise a young Neapolitan, who was making his first essay in arms in this campaign. He was promoted by General Mack from a lieutenant to a captain, as a reward for his success, rather than his valour; for neither the French horse, nor the infantry could have entered the camp, which was protected by the works, the ditch, and the trees, which had been thrown across, as well as by the cannon and the garrison. The French, returning to the assault, attempted to pass the river at Caiazzo, which was guarded by a regiment of cavalry under the Duke di Roccaromana. After suffering severe losses during the whole day, they were repulsed, and perceiving they could not accomplish their end by surprises, they changed their plan, and prepared to take the fortress by the slower method of siege. They had lost 400 men in the attacks on

Capua and at Caiazzo, half of them killed and wounded, and 100 taken prisoners. General Matthieu had his arm shattered by a grape-shot, General Boisgerard was killed, and Colonel Darnaud was among the prisoners; while on our side, only 100 had fallen; among the wounded was Colonel Roccaromana.

Generals Duhesme and Lemoine arrived at this juncture from the Abruzzi, and described the fatigues they had undergone, the obstacles they had encountered, the fords they had crossed, the perfidy of the inhabitants, and the number and barbarous murders committed upon the French. General Duhesme himself bore two recent wounds on his body, and while naming those guilty of the worst cruelties, mentioned Pronio and Rodio; to which General Championnet, when relating the history of the insurrections and the acts perpetrated by the inhabitants of the Terra di Lavoro, added names already notorious for deeds of atrocity, Fra Diavolo and Mammone.<sup>1</sup> The French generals, assembled in council in the city of Venafro, became aware that they were exposed to a new and horrible kind of warfare; they were now convinced that the cowardice shown by the commanders of the fortresses which had surrendered proceeded from an accident of fortune, and that the army had no means of escape but in keeping together, and in rapid strokes which might strike terror and weaken the strength and courage of the people. "Let our first aim, then," concluded the French commander-in-chief, "be to gain possession of Capua as soon as possible, and let the troops, arms, and siege artillery be this very day encamped around the fortress."

The Bourbonists were elated at the news of this movement of the enemy, for since the Abruzzi had been relieved by the prowess of its inhabitants, they concluded that the army of France was uniting, not from any further warlike intention, or from caution, but to retire into the States of Rome. A comparison was now drawn between the successes which had been achieved by undisciplined masses and the losses sustained by the immense army of Mack; the suspicion of treachery was thus confirmed in the minds of the people; and the more so, as upon the advance of the French, the severities of the police had been increased, and fresh imprisonments and punishments were spoken of; many of the officers were seized in

<sup>1</sup> *Pronio, Rodio, Fra Diavolo, and Mammone*, all noted leaders of banditti.

the camp, and conducted to the fortresses, and the minister of war himself, Marshal Ariola, was shut up in a fortress. These occurrences caused divisions among the people, weakened their resistance to the enemy, and generated civil discord followed by numberless disasters, inseparable from that unhappy state. This was the bitterest fruit of the obstinate folly of the Government, in imagining and punishing conspiracies which did not exist, but which were invented by a small number of ambitious bad men, were fostered in the haughty bosom of the queen, and were afterwards spread and believed among the people. These pernicious falsehoods were detrimental to the dignity of the monarchy, the influence of the great, and the authority of the magistrates. They caused soldiers to disobey their officers, and subordinates their superiors, and the contumacious, when reminded of their duties and the laws, answered by the word, traitor. Thus all orders of society, which had up to this time been respected, were undermined, and the class which was strongest by their numbers and daring, namely, the lowest of the populace, held the sway; this was especially the case in the metropolis, where the rabble are most numerous, where the class of Lazzaroni are audacious, and where the greatest booty can be obtained with greatest ease. As discipline was at an end, and authority held in contempt, the troops of the line dispersed themselves; those who had fled before the enemy refused to return to their standards, while the valour displayed by the partisans of the king was wasted in marvellous but fruitless achievements. Meanwhile, the court and the ministers lived a life of suspense and anxiety; a great and prosperous crown was tottering on the head of Ferdinand; dangers and remorse agitated the soul of the queen; General Mack wavered between his hopes in his new schemes and the ruin of his fortunes; Acton and Castalcicala trembled as might be expected from their cowardly natures and guilty lives; while those who had advised war, the Inquisitor of State and the satellites of despotism abandoned themselves to desperate projects. Thus, as by a Divine retribution, these bad men were tormented by the consciousness of their evil deserts, and the fear of approaching and certain vengeance. To fly, was the desire of all, though not avowed, because an act of cowardice and only to be resorted to at the last

extremity. The French army, stopped by a single fortress and river, and by the armed bands of the people, did not advance; the risings within the city were all in favour of the king, and many vows of fidelity were offered up for the throne and church. Not a single province nor city had yielded to the French, whose dominion did not extend beyond the ground covered by their army; and the unexpected disasters which had befallen the enemy, rendered the Bourbons and their adherents secure in the Principati, Puglia, and Calabria. There was not even an excuse for flight, but conscience makes bad men cowards.

There were others also in fear: the most noted Jacobins whose names were inscribed in the books of the police, the officers accused of treason, and the possessors of wealth, in whatever form, since they chiefly attracted the eyes of the insurrectionary mob. The Jacobins, experienced in contriving secret meetings, consulted on the means of escape, and how it would be possible to aid the fortunes of France, and the downfall of the king of Naples. These were the first real conspiracies which, if criminal in their design for the overthrow of the Government, were produced by necessity, as the conspirators, who led miserable and insecure lives, obliged to conceal themselves during the day and stealing from their houses by nights, could only thus hope for life and liberty. They sent envoys to the French army, to inform General Championnet of the state of the city and palace, and urge him to complete the enterprise he had commenced, promising him powerful support from their faction. The police having learned or suspected these proceedings, increased the dangers and alarm of both parties. But the terror in the king's household was already almost past endurance, when a deed of atrocity hastened their deliberations and actions. Antonio Ferretti, a courier employed by the ministers, and a faithful servant to whom the king was attached, was on his way with a royal despatch to Admiral Nelson, when, taken by the people for a spy of the French, he was seized upon the sea-shore, and while a thousand voices shouted, "Death to the Jacobins!" was stabbed by as many blows; while yet alive, they dragged him through the streets, and finally threw him into a common sewer, where he expired. Whilst these barbarous wretches were dragging him along half

dead, they paused beneath the windows of the palace, and had the audacity to call upon the king to come out and behold the loyalty of his people, in the torments of the traitor. They refused to depart or be pacified, until the tumult became such, from their increasing numbers and disorder, that to prevent further excesses, the king made his appearance, and recognised the unhappy Ferretti, who fixed his dying eyes upon him, as if to implore pity ; king as he was, Ferdinand, however, had no power to release him from his tormentors, but, terrified at the sight, and trembling for his own life, he determined on flight. Some declared the murder was premeditated, to produce this result, and others, in order to hide certain plots with Austria, known to Ferretti.

The king having determined on his departure, hastened the preparations, which were made secretly, as for flight ; but concealment was useless, for it was soon known that the royal family and the ministers were meditating their escape, and that the base satellites of despotism were preparing other means for their own flight or concealment. While the last hope of resisting the enemy or reorganizing the army and government were vanishing before these signs of fear, a bold and faithful counsellor, whose name has not been recorded, remonstrated with the king, upon the error and mischief of his flight ; but all he could obtain was a promise, that the fact should be concealed from the people, in order not to damp the warlike ardour of the provinces, or the hatred of the French. Letters and messengers were accordingly despatched, to assure them that the king was preparing to annihilate the enemy who, aided by treachery, and venturing into the heart of the kingdom, in the midst of fortresses and a population in arms, would find the punishment he deserved for his temerity. The credulous people trusted implicitly in these words, and redoubled their ardour and endeavours to oppose the French. Suddenly, on the morning of the 21st December, a number of ships which had weighed anchor in the night from the port, were seen navigating the bay, and upon the largest vessel (which was English) the king and the royal family were embarked, as could be perceived by her flag. At the same time, an edict, called an *Avviso* (intelligence), was placarded on the walls of the city, proclaiming that the king had left for Sicily, and had appointed the commander-in-chief, Prince Francesco



Pignatelli, regent ; but that he intended shortly to return with a powerful army.

As soon as the king had departed, the secret history of his flight was divulged ; as well as the intrigues of the courtiers who had surmounted the final delays, and the advice of such influential persons as Sir William Hamilton, Nelson, and Lady Hamilton. It was reported that Ferdinand had carried off the jewels and treasure of the crown, as well as the most valuable of the antiquities, and works of art in the museums, besides all that remained in bar or coin, in the mint and banks ; in short, a booty of twenty millions of ducats, belonging to the State treasure, leaving the unhappy nation engaged in a foreign and domestic war, without law or guidance, destitute and insecure. Whatever may be the ties which bind a king to his people, whether a human compact or a Divine ordinance, and whether the government be free or despotic, it was a heinous crime in a monarch thus treacherously to abandon the State, which even the exigencies of the time and circumstances cannot excuse.

The ships were detained three days in the bay by contrary winds, and during that time the municipality, the magistrates, the barons, and the people sent deputies to the king, promising if he would return to use every effort against the enemy, and secure him the victory by their numbers and determination. The Archbishop of Naples presented the addresses to the king, and others those to the ministers. But Ferdinand declared his resolution to be irrevocable, and the ministers repeated the same in less courteous terms. The loyal feelings of the people were changed by this conduct ; the magistrates retired from public office, either from indignation or to secure their own safety ; those who loved quiet, waited coming events in fear and trembling ; the hopes of the innovators were rising, while the rabble was the only party actively engaged, and were daily committing worse excesses. The royal ships meanwhile disappeared, as well as other vessels having on board many evil-disposed persons, the timid, and the ambitious, and those whose flagitious lives made them dread danger ; a few days later news arrived that the fugitives had been overtaken by a violent tempest, that some had sought shelter in Calabria, others in Sardinia and Corsica, that many of the ships

were scattered, while the vessel containing the king, which was commanded by Admiral Nelson, had had her masts and yards split, and could hardly keep the sea. The royal family themselves believed their final destruction near, and when the queen was told that the Infant Don Albert had died, she answered, "We shall all shortly rejoin my son:" whilst the king, praying with a loud voice, and promising large gifts to St. Januarius and St. Francis, cast indignant glances at the minister and his consort; thus reproaching them with the acts of his past government, which had been the cause of his flight and misfortune. In the midst of the tempest, to the astonishment of all, a Neapolitan man-of-war, commanded by Admiral Caracciolo, was seen steering securely on her course; but although Caracciolo could have sailed past them, he kept within a short distance of the king's ship, to encourage, and if necessary to assist his sovereigns; it seemed as if, while other vessels obeyed the winds, that of Caracciolo, as she sailed freely and proudly through the waves, commanded them. This fact was observed and admired by the king, which provoked the envy of Nelson. The English ship, though tempest-tost, came in sight of Palermo on the 25th December. The sea in that vicinity is very dangerous, and the entrance to the harbour difficult. When the peril to which the shattered vessel was exposed was descried from the city, and it was made known that the king was on board, Giovanni Pausen, the captain of a frigate, braved the waves upon a small boat, and reached the ship, where he offered himself as a skilful pilot in these seas. Admiral Nelson willingly yielded the command to him, and either owing to his skill or to good fortune, he reached the port in a few hours, and anchored in smooth water at the Banchetta. Caracciolo arrived in the same moorings, and having landed the passengers from his unscathed vessel, dropped her anchors. The officers of the Neapolitan navy gained much glory from this affair.

The Regent Pignatelli, when notifying the extent of his military power to General Mack, and that for the government of the country to the Eletti of the city, recommended the defences of the kingdom to the first, and requested the advice of the last. Had either the king or the regent been equal to this emergency, they might either have succeeded in expelling the French, or have concluded peace,

or prolonged the war, until by the movements of the armies of Austria or Russia, the enemy would have been obliged to withdraw from southern Italy, and hasten to the aid of his armies in Lombardy. Damas had brought seven thousand soldiers with him; Naselli was at the head of another six thousand; and fifteen thousand or more were encamped around Capua, who, though relaxed in discipline and insubordinate, might (as often happens where large numbers are congregated) by a gesture or word have been easily restored to obedience. The Abruzzi, the province of Molise, and the Terra di Lavoro, were swarming with Bourbonists, the rest of the provinces were in arms, and the populous city of Naples was rising for the king. Had all these means been organized and made to act in concert, and had the moral influence of tradition, legitimacy, and the sacred idea attached to the institutions of their country been made use of, an army might have been created three times greater than that of twenty-four thousand French, supported by only a few hundred volunteers, inexperienced in revolutions and war. But General Pignatelli, born of a race of ignorant nobles, and educated amidst the servilities of a palace, had neither the abilities nor courage to save the kingdom and the crown. The worst result of despotism is, that while training its votaries to obedience, none are found capable of command.

After continuing for a short time to act with the regent, the Eletti of the city began to suspect him of evil intentions, either in obedience to secret orders from the sovereigns, or from private motives; and they consequently summoned other Eletti from the *Sedili*,<sup>1</sup> knights, and burgesses, and raised a large and faithful body of militia. After consulting on the state of public affairs, they determined, in the first instance, to diminish the power of the regent; but after referring to the grants of Frederic II., King Ladislaus II., Philip III., and to subsequent edicts and compacts, agreed to by Philip V. and Charles III., they declared they could not be governed by a viceroy; and that after the departure of the king, the royal power was transferred to the Eletti, as the representatives of the city and of the kingdom.

The regent refused to submit, and both parties growing exasperated, the municipality sent him a message, requiring him to

<sup>1</sup> See Note, p. 23.

resign his unlawful power. The disputed authority was made manifest by the publication of edicts from either side, contradicting one another in words and substance ; for while the Eletti endeavoured to repress the tumults, the regent laboured to excite them, and while the respectable classes of the community adhered to the former, the dissolute and lower orders adhered to the latter. On the 28th December, in the midst of this agitation, a thick smoke was seen rising from the shore at Posilippo, followed by flame ; and it was rumoured that by the orders of the regent, but in obedience to higher commands, a hundred and twenty bomb-ketches and gun-boats, drawn up for shelter in the grottoes of that rocky shore, had been set on fire ; some days later, several ships of the line, which had returned from Sicily, presented a still more melancholy spectacle ; for, in broad daylight, Count Thurn, a German in the service of Naples, gave the word of command from the deck of a Portuguese frigate, to set fire to two Neapolitan men-of-war, and three frigates anchored in the Bay. The flames at midday assumed a lurid dingy colour, and appeared to rise from the sea, stealing up the ships' sides, and running along the masts, the tarred rigging and sails, so that the vessels seemed outlined by fire, and soon afterwards fell in ashes and disappeared. The people gazed at the scene in gloomy silence and consternation, until rousing themselves from their stupor, they asked one another the reason for this destruction ; why the Neapolitan and English sailors could not have conveyed the ships to Sicily ; whether it was true that the port, the arsenals, and magazines containing the public stores, were to be burnt ; and whether the queen intended, now that she had fled, to leave the people nothing but their eyes to behold the public misery and to weep ? Then suddenly ceasing these idle murmurs, they hastened to the Town-hall, and demanded that the public buildings should be placed in their hands ; but they were pacified by seeing numerous bands of the militia already guarding the city. The Eletti, who had been as much excited as the people, at the unpatriotic spirit shown by these incendiary acts, and fearing greater destruction, had met for consultation : some proposed at once to organize themselves into a republic ; others to pay down a sum of money to purchase peace ; others to seek a new king of the Bourbon race from Spain ; and some, whose mouthpiece was the Prince of

Canosa (whose name I mention here that the reader may learn to know him from the commencement of his career), to compose an aristocratic government, since democracy was undesirable, and monarchy had ceased in Naples by the flight and spoliation of the king. The days were thus wasted in a variety of projects, none of them adapted to the exigency of the times.

Whilst this was passing in the city, the French army were defending themselves from the Bourbonists, who were continually attacking their weakest points, or that part of their force furthest removed from the main body ; while they retaliated by sacking and burning the city of Isernia, as a punishment for opposing the passage of General Duhesme, and then prepared for the siege of Capua. General Mack meantime hastened the repairs of this fortress, and increased the numbers of the garrison. But the regent, who had already commenced secret negotiations for peace with Championnet, now demanded a prolonged truce, the terms of which were arranged in the village of Sparanisi ; the Duke del Gesso and the Prince di Migliano acting for Naples, and General Arcambal for France. It was there agreed on the 12th January 1799, that the truce should last two months ; “ that the fortress of Capua should be yielded to the French on the following day, with her stores and arms complete ; that the line of the French camp should be formed in the territory lying between the mouths of the Regii Lagni and the Ofanto, behind the right bank of the first-mentioned river, and the left of the last, and occupy the cities of Acerra, Arienzo, Arpaia, Benevento, and Ariano ; that the Neapolitan soldiers in Romagna should be recalled, and Naples pay two millions and a half of ducats, the first half on the 15th, the second half on the 25th of that month.” This truce was more to be deprecated than an unsuccessful war, for though we had been obliged to lay down our arms and submit to peace on hard conditions, some advantages might have accrued to the king and kingdom ; but this suspension of hostilities, by cooling and afterwards extinguishing the ardour of the people (our strongest defence at that time), by yielding to the enemy the only fortress which served to protect the metropolis, as well as a vast and rich extent of territory in the heart of the country, besides granting him security and facilities to await fresh reinforcements from Lombardy, made our fall certain, and was

unmixed evil and total ruin, without compensation or hope for the future. The truce having been concluded, the French on the following day occupied the fortress of Capua, and having posted their camps on the banks of the Lagni, took possession of the territory assigned them as far as Ofanto, a river which falls into the Adriatic. The Neapolitan soldiers, who were daily diminishing from desertion, were encamped on the opposite bank of the Lagni, more as a demonstration than for defence; the people, both in the metropolis and in the provinces, disapproved the terms of the truce; and thus, while the war with the foreigner terminated, dissensions among ourselves increased. On the evening of the 14th January, the French commissioners came to Naples to receive the money which had been promised, but which was not forthcoming, nor even possible to procure, since all the State treasure, besides all belonging to the municipality in coin or in plate from the churches, banks, and mint, had been carried off by the king in his flight. The lower orders rose in a tumult at the sight of the commissioners; and the riot lasted all night, causing more alarm than mischief, for the regent secretly connived at the departure of the French from the city, and the civic guard suppressed the insurrection.

The following morning, however, matters were worse than ever. Some of the soldiers, either voluntarily or by compulsion, yielded their arms to the rabble, who attacked and disarmed the civic guards, and disbanded that useful body. Strong in numbers and arms, and elated by their first success, they ran to the ships which had arrived in the night, with six thousand troops on board. The soldiers hesitated, but their leader, General Naselli, pusillanimously gave way, and distributed arms to the people, while his men, who were as ready to assist in a tumult as averse to war, joined the insurgents. Thus the stream soon swelled into a torrent, and the rabble hastened in vast multitudes to demand the castles from the regent. Terrified, perplexed, and his flight prepared, Pignatelli ordered the castles to be given up to the people, whom he called the enemies of the French and loyal subjects of the king. The prisons and galleys were next thrown open, and many thousand ruffians joined the mob. The serious aspect of affairs roused the courage of the magistrates, and they sent a deputation to the regent led by the Prince di Piedimonte, who ad-

dressed him as follows :—"The municipal council command you, by us, to resign the powers of the regency to them ; to restore any of the State treasure you may have in your possession, and to issue an edict ordering that full and entire obedience shall be paid to the municipality." The regent replied, he would take the matter into consideration ; but, in the night, without giving any answer to these intimations, or leaving any provision for the government, fled from Naples. Some believed that he acted thus in obedience to instructions left him by the queen, others that his flight proceeded from cowardice, or his usual proneness to blunder, or from an intention to overwhelm his enemy, General Acton, in his ruin. He proceeded to Sicily, where he was the unhappy narrator of his own shame, and was there shut up in a fortress.

The people, finding they had forty thousand armed men at their command, took possession of the castles ; and the restraints of law and fear being removed, believed themselves invincible. They called the generals traitors and Jacobins, and appointed Colonels Moliterno and Roccaromana their leaders ; both of whom had proved their loyalty, one by the loss of an eye in the war in Lombardy, and the other, by recent wounds in the engagement at Caiazzo ; they were likewise both nobles, bold horsemen, and (what the populace prize still higher) tall and handsome in person. They accepted office, because they did not wish to risk a refusal, and because they hoped by assuming the authority conferred on them by these maniacs to be enabled to curb their fury. The municipality (the only magistracy which continued in the discharge of their duties) consented to this choice, and the terrified city signified their approbation. A gang composed of the lowest of the populace, went in search of Mack, but not finding him at Casoria, where they supposed him to be, suddenly changed their minds and returned. The general, who lay concealed during the night in a small house in Caivano, left at daybreak on the following morning, disguised in the uniform of a German general, and presented himself to General Championnet at Caserta, who received him with magnanimity, and gave permission for his free passage to Germany ; he was, however, detained at Milan, and conveyed prisoner to Paris. This history sufficiently proves what was the amount of his skill and capacity, which is still more evident in the narrative

of the affair at Ulm, in 1805, which belongs to the history of Europe. The command of the army was transferred to General Salandra, but merely as a matter of form, for the greater part of the army was dissolved, and those who remained, refused to obey orders. The new commander, when on his way to form the encampments, was soon afterwards wounded by some of the rabble, and with him General Parisi. Other officers were likewise wounded or killed, the trenches and quarters deserted, discipline at an end, and each thought only of his own safety. No force remained but the rabble, and no authority was acknowledged, except that uncertain power which had been confided to Roccaramana and Moliterno.

As there was no longer a Neapolitan army facing the French encampments, and the only show of resistance was now and then the appearance of an armed civilian, it was expected that the enemy (the truce having been broken by the non-payment of the stipulated price) would advance against the city; and many and exaggerated rumours caused still further excitement in the mob. The municipal senate now relieved from the presence of the regent, consulted with the Prince di Moliterno, and divided with him the cares of the State. They issued an edict, commanding to prepare for an attack against the French, which was to commence as soon as necessary; to maintain order in the interior, and above all, public tranquillity; to restore the arms to the dépôts, that they might be distributed with greater discrimination to the defenders of their country and their king, and concluded in these words: "Those who disobey these laws, are enemies and rebels to the authority of the people, and will be proceeded against by immediate trial and execution." The gallows were erected in the squares of the city, and Moliterno was confirmed in his office as General of the people. The senate, by decree, provided for the administration of the finances, justice, and all the departments of Government, threatening defaulters with immediate and terrible punishments to satisfy the just indignation of the people. Meanwhile, in order to divert the rabble from plunder, they proclaimed the fisheries and hunting grounds in the waters and woods of the royal domains, free to all. They then selected deputies to send to General Championnet, to inform him of the change of government,



and to urge upon him the mutual benefit which would ensue from a peace, which, while glorious and advantageous for France, need not entail misery nor degradation on the Neapolitan people ; since, now that they had by their own arms, and by their own sufferings, redeemed the faults of their government and army, they were deserving of some consideration.

These measures for the attainment of peace moderated the excitement of the people ; many of the weapons which had been seized were restored to Castel Nuovo, a great number of the rioters started for the royal lakes and forests, and the tumult and uproar subsided. But those who had always advocated liberty, and those lately converted by the new hopes which had been held out, were secretly intriguing with the French, and offering them powerful aid in the prosecution of the war, the success of which, they asserted, would amply reward the Republic by the acquisition of wealth and glory ; they entreated them to refuse the tempting offers of peace, and exaggerated their own influence and numbers, while speaking disparagingly of their opponents : they further assured them, that the provinces would at once return to tranquillity, when they heard that the capital was taken, and that the people had vindicated their right to freedom. Such was the state of affairs, when, in the middle of the night, messengers from the city arrived at the camp, consisting of twenty-four of the most violent of the popular leaders, among whom was Canosa, a prince by birth, an aristocrat by principle, and a plebeian by nature ; at their head was the general of the people, Moliterno. Confident in their own strength, inexperienced in the difficulties of war, and the uncertain temper of numbers, they addressed General Championnet in a tumultuous manner, all speaking together ; some assuring him, that while the Neapolitan army had only been conquered because betrayed, the people were neither betrayed nor conquered ; others praying for peace, and others, in the name of the countless millions who were opposed to the small French army, defying him to war. After they had thus vented their feelings, in mingled threats and entreaties, Moliterno spoke thus in a studied speech :—

“ General, by the flight of the king and his regent, the government of the kingdom devolves on the senate of the city ; therefore in treating with you in their name, we shall conclude a lawful and

permanent act. This," he continued, presenting a paper, "contains the powers of the deputies here present. You, General, who, after defeating a numerous army, have advanced as a conqueror from the fields of Fermo to the shores of the Lagni, naturally deem the space of ten miles which divides you from the city, short; but you will perceive that the distance is greater and perhaps interminable, when you remember that you are surrounded by a fierce and armed population; that 60,000 citizens, with fortresses and ships, all animated by religious zeal and the desire for independence, are defending a city of 500,000 armed inhabitants; that the people in the provinces are opposing you with greater numbers and activity, and that if it were possible to conquer, it would be impossible to maintain your conquest. Everything, therefore, counsels you to make peace. We offer you the money we engaged to pay in the armistice, and as much more (provided your request be moderate) as you may demand, besides provisions, carriages, horses, and all the means necessary for your return, and we engage to keep the road free from enemies. You have by successful battles during the war, obtained arms, standards, and prisoners. You have taken four fortresses, less by the power of your arms than the fame of your name; we now offer you peace and treasure as to a conqueror. You will therefore derive all the advantages attending glory and success. Remember, General, that our numbers are sufficient, nay, more than sufficient to resist your army, and that if you, for the sake of peace, refrain from entering the city, the world will admire your magnanimity; while, if you are prevented entering by the resistance of the people, you will fall ingloriously."

The general spoke thus in reply:—"You address the French army as a conqueror might address the conquered. The truce is at an end, because you have failed in your engagements. We shall to-morrow advance against the city." Thus saying he dismissed them. Several Neapolitans who were in the camp serving as volunteers or guides to the French, spoke with the deputation, using the seductive phraseology of liberty, but only received bold and determined answers; both sides, inflamed with party rage, threatened the other with extermination. The deputies repeated the angry words of the conference to the Senate, which,

unfortunately for the hopes of peace, passed from mouth to mouth in the city. Priests and friars who adhered to the falling government, perceiving, that since the Bourbons had fled, and the regent had been driven away, the Municipal Senate were dictating laws without the sanction of the king, went among the rabble, rousing their ancient loyalty, and reminding them of the words of the queen:—"The people alone remain faithful, for all the educated classes of the kingdom are Jacobins." They spread suspicions against Moliterno, Roccaromana, the Eletti, and the nobles; and they urged the people to rise, to plunder the houses, and to commit other excesses. The rage which had been spent was thus reawakened, and the mob that night upsetting the gallows, and refusing to acknowledge the authority of Roccaromana and Moliterno, elected as their leaders two of themselves, one named Il Paggio, a small flour-merchant, and the other called Il Pazzo, the servant of a vintner, who had obtained this nickname for his youthful excesses, both of them men of bold and dissolute characters.

The first dawn of the 15th January 1799 discovered new dangers which soon proved themselves too real; a numerous band of Lazzaroni went out to meet the French, whilst others dismantled the castles, and seized the artillery in the arsenals; others, still more ferocious, went about the city, robbing and murdering the inhabitants. When the rioters were in full operation, the same friars and priests who had roused their passions on the previous days, clothed themselves in the sacred vestments, and still further excited the people in the squares and churches, by what they called the Word of God. They so far succeeded in their endeavours, that a servant of the noble house of Filomarino denounced his masters in the market-place, and led the Lazzaroni to their palace, where they seized the Duke della Torre and his brother Filomarino in their own rooms, and laid them in irons; the former celebrated for his poetic genius, the latter for his mathematical learning; the house, which was richly furnished, was first pillaged, and then burned; many books, rare prints, and articles of value were destroyed, besides a museum of natural history, the fruits of long years of labour. Whilst the building was still burning, the two unhappy prisoners were dragged to the new quay, and there made to ascend a pile, where they were burned alive, amidst the rejoicings of a

barbarous and ferocious populace. Other massacres followed. The municipal council broke up in terror ; all respectable persons sought shelter in their houses, and no voice was heard but that of the mob, no command but theirs. The Cardinal Archbishop, hoping to influence them in some degree, by that faith in whose name the Lazzaroni were acting, ordered a solemn procession, and in the middle of the night carrying the statue and phials containing the blood of St. Januarius, passed along the most crowded streets, singing sacred hymns from place to place, preaching justice and mercy. Whilst this ceremony was proceeding, a tall man was seen to force a way for himself amidst the throng, and reach the sanctuary ; he was clothed in a dark-coloured dress, his hair was dishevelled, his feet bare, and he bore about him all the signs of penance. This man was the Prince di Moliterno, who asking permission of the Archbishop to address the people, and having declared his name and rank, and the just cause he had to wear mourning in the universal calamity, exhorted the people to go and repose, in order to enable them to sustain the fatigues of war on the following day ; which would certainly be the last, if all would consent to swear by these sacred phials to exterminate the French or to die. He then, in a loud voice, took the oath, which was responded to by a thousand voices. His speech and attire, combined with the religious ceremony, had the desired effect, and, together with the general exhaustion, succeeded in inducing the people to retire to their homes, and allow the city a brief interval of tranquillity.

The republicans alone did not sleep, for imminent danger yet hung over them. They had promised General Championnet to gain possession of the castle of Sant' Elmo, and had attempted it the night before, but without success ; some of the conspirators had failed at the place of meeting, the password had been wanting, and the garrison waking to arms, they barely saved themselves by flight. The fortress was commanded by Nicolo Caracciolo, who was in favour with the people, because he happened to be the brother of the Duke di Roccaromana, and was garrisoned by a hundred and thirty Lazzaroni, led by Luigi Brandi, one of themselves, and a man of desperate character. Caracciolo was in the conspiracy of the republicans. He proposed that at daybreak on the 20th, a handful

of the conspirators should present themselves unexpectedly and unarmed at the castle, as a reinforcement for the garrison ; arrived there, the band pretended they had been sent thither by the people ; for all classes of society, priests, friars, nobles, and magistrates were that day to fight the French, from the castles, the walls, or in the field ; and they assigned as a reason for appearing without arms, that they were sure of finding weapons in the armoury of the fort, and had therefore resigned theirs to the people, who needed them. This plausible explanation satisfied their audience, and the small and unarmed band not exciting any suspicion, they were received amidst warlike acclamations, and were triumphantly provided with arms. A few hours later the governor of the castle, reminding the garrison of the attempt the Jacobins had made the previous night, commanded numerous patrols to make the round of the walls, and appointed Brandi to lead them ; they accordingly left the castle ; then giving orders to double the sentries, he placed a conspirator beside every man of the people. Brandi was recalled alone from the patrol to confer on matters of importance, but hardly had he arrived when the gates were closed and barred behind him, and he was conducted in silence to a deep dungeon. The garrison of Lazzaroni being thus deprived of their leader, it only required a few hardy spirits to overcome the rest ; at a concerted signal, each conspirator who was standing sentry, placed his weapon at the breast of his comrade, whilst the others attacked the Lazzaroni who, in perfect security and unarmed, were dispersed throughout the castle. The boldness of the attempt, and the surprise succeeded, and in one short hour a hundred and thirty of the people were either excluded from the castle or thrown into the dungeons, by only thirty-one of the republican party, while other republicans, at a given signal, hastened to their assistance ; from that moment, without spilling a drop of blood, the castle was conquered for the French. The Lazzaroni who had been expelled, or sent out with Brandi as a patrol, told of the insults they had suffered, but their tale was not believed, because the royal standard still floated on the stronghold ; and because slow credence is lent to unwelcome truths. Information was sent to General Championnet of this success.

The day before the affair of Sant' Elmo, an armed multitude left

the city and attacked the French post at Ponte Rotto ; gaining possession of it, they proceeded onwards and forded the river Lagni, but encountering a stronger detachment of the enemy, were beaten and forced to return. The French army that same day, the 19th January, raised their camps and approached nearer the city, between the Sarno and Averso, to await the arrival of the half brigade which had left Benevento under Colonel Broussier. While making his way along the defile of Caudine, known by the name of the *Forks*, in commemoration of the disasters and disgrace which befel the Romans there, he perceived on the opposite banks and woody declivities, a considerable number of armed men, and was reminded of the fate of the two consuls ; but more fortunate than they, or because the present inhabitants of the Principati are less expert than the Samnites, he contrived to overcome them by strategy. Feigning an attack and flight, he seduced the incautious defenders from their strong positions into the plain, where they were easily put to the rout, as will always be the case where undisciplined numbers are opposed to a regular army. Four hundred French, however, fell dead or wounded, and many more perished on the other side ; the legion of Broussier having surmounted the defile, joined the main army, and were proceeding along, almost incautiously, when they met, fought, and defeated a body of Lazzaroni ; but these, wheeling about, like experienced troops, made a march behind Vesuvius, and surprised and gained possession of the quarters of General Duhesme.

The united French army consisted of twenty-two thousand men, who were disposed in four columns, one of which, under General Dufresse, was sent in the direction of Capodimonte ; another, under General Duhesme, towards the Capuan gate ; the third, under General Kellerman, towards the bastion of the Carmine, while the fourth, under General Broussier, was held in reserve. Naples, unprovided with bastions or walls, or even fortified gates, relied for defence on her immense population, on the close build of the houses, and on the fanaticism of her people with their hatred of the French. It was the 21st of January, when General Duhesme, in advance of the rest, his vanguard led by General Mounier, repulsed large bodies of the Lazzaroni, took some of their cannon, and entered by the Capuan gate, encamping in the square

of the same name. Suddenly, circle within circle, from houses prepared by loopholes in the walls, and covered ways, a thousand muskets were discharged at the French, who fell killed or wounded. General Mounier himself received a mortal wound, the boldest fell by the hand of an invisible foe, and neither skill nor valour could avail anything; they therefore abandoned the fatal spot, and withdrew their forces. Kellerman having vanquished those guarding the bridge of the Maddalena, pitched his camp on the right bank of the Seveto; and General Dufresse, without encountering any opposition, took up his quarters in Capodimonte. The Lazzaroni gloried in having retaken the Piazza Capuana.

But their triumph did not last long; for Duhesme returned to the attack, and having taken a battery of twelve cannon which had been placed before the gate, proceeded slowly across the square, setting fire to the buildings round. It was already night; the flames, the extent of the fires, and the prospect before them, terrified the Lazzaroni, who hastened to seek refuge in the heart of the city. On the following day, General Championnet, unwilling to expose his own army to so much probable loss, and so noble a city to destruction, hoped to conquer Naples by threats and expostulation. He accordingly ranged his soldiers, artillery, and standards along the heights, and exhorted the enemy to capitulate. But his herald was stopped on the way, attacked by the Lazzaroni, and obliged to fly; another messenger, in disguise, reached his destination, but finding neither leaders, orders, nor magistrates, the senate dissolved, Moliterno and Roccaromana fled, and nothing left but the rabble and utter confusion, he returned to the camp to report how matters stood. General Duhesme had meantime sent an advanced guard of a few men to the open space called Delle Pigne, and as the Lazzaroni attacked them from the Palace of Solimena, a handful of soldiers made a sudden rush, reached the edifice, set it on fire, and then returned to the camp. Thus passed the 21st January, and little of interest occurred on the following day.

But in the night the French general prepared a final assault to take place on the 23d, and sent intimation of his intentions to the officers in command of the columns, and to the allies in Sant' Elmo; he then organized the movement and position of the troops, ordering, in the event of the hoped-for victory, that strict discipline

should be maintained among the soldiers, and in case of defeat, providing for the retreat and safety of the army. Operations commenced at daybreak. At the general assault the Lazzaroni defended themselves in the streets, but, without discipline or leader, they fought as chance directed, and with desperate courage, until the cannon from Sant' Elmo began firing on the market-place, and killed several of their number ; all then turning towards the castle beheld the French standard, and discovered they had been betrayed. Moliterno and Roccaromana had already taken refuge in the fort, and republicans disguised as Lazzaroni mingled with the crowd, and endeavoured first to stop the slaughter and pillage, and then to persuade the betrayed people to submit to the French yoke. If only viewed in the light of a deception practised on the people, their conduct would deserve censure, but when it is remembered that their object was to put a stop to the excesses and fury of a lawless mob, they deserve praise for humanity. God and history will decide if those who first kindled the war, and then deserted it, who excited the people to arms, and then abandoned their adherents, the state, the chief command, and the reins of government, were not alone guilty of all the crimes perpetrated at that time. They could act coolly, and were under no compulsion, while those who remained were prompted by the instinct of self-preservation, by patriotism, and still more frequently by necessity. The dregs of the people hurried to the spoil of the palace, but were dispersed by two discharges of cannon from Sant' Elmo, and abandoned it when half sacked. The French meanwhile proceeded onwards. General Rusca, by an assault, gained possession of the bastion of the Carmine, Castel Nuovo surrendered to General Kellerman, and General Dufresse abandoning Capodimonte for Sant' Elmo, descended into the city in order of battle. But General Championnet, who, in the midst of all his hostile preparations, had not relinquished his noble desire for peace, went to the camp of Duhesme, and raising the flag of peace, invited the people by signs to approach, and by gestures and words persuaded them that, now that the French were masters of the castles, it was folly to prosecute the war, and worse than folly, unjust ; since they had come to bring the people peace, abundance, and a better government, and would swear to respect their persons and property, to reverence



the Church and religion, and pay the devotion due to the most blessed St. Januarius. The general spoke Italian fluently, and was therefore understood and applauded by his audience, among whom was Michele il Pazzo, the chosen leader of the Lazzaroni, who, requesting Championnet to place a guard of honour around St. Januarius, immediately obtained leave for two companies of grenadiers to march to the Cathedral; as they passed along the streets, the troops shouted, "All reverence to St. Januarius!" while the Neapolitan Lazzaroni, who ran by their side, responded with the cry of "Long live the French!" Never did fame fly more swiftly; the event was told from one end of the city to the other, and the friendly words of the French general were repeated, whilst the banner of the three colours floated from the castles, and French bands of music invited all to rejoice. The heavens were unclouded, as is usually the case in Naples during the month of January. Arms fell from the hands of the populace, who, like tame or untamed cattle, are ready to acquiesce in servitude or freedom, the sport of fortune, and less inclined for action than endurance,—a fit material for despotism. The noise of war had ceased, those who had fled in terror came out of their hiding-places, and General Championnet made a magnificent entry into Naples, preceded by an edict, which ran as follows:—

"Neapolitans, be free; if you know how to enjoy the gift of freedom, the French Republic will be amply rewarded in your happiness for her dead and for the war. If any among you still prefer the government which has ceased to exist, let them disencumber this free soil of their presence; let them fly from us who are citizens, and let slaves go among slaves. The French army will take the name of the army of Naples, as a pledge and solemn vow to maintain your rights, and to use those arms to advance your liberties. We French will respect the national worship, and the sacred rights of property and person. Your magistrates will, by their paternal administration, provide for the tranquillity and happiness of the citizens; let the terrors of ignorance disappear, let the fury of fanaticism be dispelled, and may you be as solicitous to serve us, as the perfidy of your fallen government was to injure us."

The rejoicings continued: the republicans, who embraced one

another in the streets, called to remembrance those who had suffered in the cause, and with tears of emotion and pleasure blessed the memories of Vitaliano, Galliani, and De Deo, while bands of patriots hastened to the houses of their relatives, to condole with them on their past sufferings. Amidst all these festive scenes, the eyes and thoughts of men were attracted towards the melancholy spectacle of the dead bodies of those who had fallen on either side, and which yet encumbered the streets ; at least a thousand French lay there, and three thousand or more Neapolitans. After night-fall, the darkness was dispelled by an infinity of lamps, which illuminated the city, while Mount Vesuvius, which had been tranquil for many years, sent forth a placid and brilliant flame, like a celestial omen of happiness. The omen, however, proved fallacious, for a far different destiny lay concealed in the bosom of time.

# BOOK IV.

## THE PARTHENOPEAN REPUBLIC.

JANUARY TO JUNE 1799.

### CHAPTER I.

#### LAWS FOR THE ORGANIZATION OF THE REPUBLIC.

WHEN General Championnet entered Naples, the rejoicings of the people were overcast by the remembrance of the recent strife, and by the sight of the unburied dead ; but by orders of the city magistrates this melancholy spectacle was removed during the silence of night, and preparations made for the festival of the morrow. The grief for those who had fallen ceased, because soldiers only lament their comrades in the hour of danger, and the Lazzaroni neither sorrow for their dead, nor wear mourning. At daybreak, many of the youth of the city, inflamed with a passion for liberty, invited the people to listen to harangues on the advantages of a republic, and declaimed with all the eloquence they could muster on the rewards, the duties, and virtues of the citizen. They proceeded to enumerate the faults and acts of injustice of the fugitive king, reminded their audience of the treasure he had carried off, of the ships which had been burned by his orders, leaving their shores without defence, exposed to enemies and pirates ; and of the war he had provoked, and then fled to avoid ; of his having roused the people to arm and then deserted them, leaving no directions for their conduct in future, and abandoning his subjects to the sword of foreign enemies and to domestic strife. These facts, fresh in the recollections of all, strengthened the arguments of the orators and gave fire to their eloquence in the cause of liberty—a word which warms the heart of every man, a

wellspring of joy, and an instinct of nature. The happiness of the people therefore was universal, openly acknowledged, and unalloyed.

General Championnet meantime issued an edict in the name and by the authority of the French Republic, in which he declared, that, desirous to use the rights of conquest for the benefit of the people, he proposed to organize the State of Naples into an independent republic; that a body of citizens should be formed to frame the new statute, and to rule with the forms of a free government; and that by the authority he derived from his rank and the success of his arms, he had taken upon himself to appoint the persons of whom this Assembly was to be composed, who would meet that same day in San Lorenzo,<sup>1</sup> and would receive their powers from his lips. This Provisional Government was to consist of twenty-five members, who were classified in departments called committees, assuming the names of, the central committee, the committee for the interior, for war, for finance, for justice and police, and for legislation. General Championnet then proceeded in military array, and escorted by a vast crowd of admiring people to San Lorenzo, a building associated in their minds with honourable memories of the past; and there in the great hall, where the Provisional Government was already assembled, he ascended a place of honour, and spoke as follows:—

“ Citizens, the conduct of the affairs of the Neapolitan Republic is for the present confided to you. The permanent government will be elected by the people; you yourselves being constituent and constituted, may diminish the embarrassments which new laws must entail by governing according to the principles which you shall propose for the new statute. I have, therefore, temporarily confided to you the charge of legislators or regents for the public benefit. You have unlimited powers and equal responsibility. Remember that upon you depends whether a great benefit or a great evil be conferred upon your country; which will accrue to your honour or dishonour. I have indeed selected you, but you were pointed out to me by fame: and may the excellence of your performance justify the choice of the people by whom you are said to be endowed with exalted genius and pure hearts, and to be ardently and sincerely attached to your country.

<sup>1</sup> *San Lorenzo.* The Town Hall.

“ While organizing the Republic of Naples, let the constitution as closely resemble that of the French Republic, as the wants and habits of your country will permit. France is the mother of the new republics, and of the new era of civilisation, and during your administration continue to be our friends, colleagues, and companions, and in all things be united with France. Do not hope for prosperity separated from her; remember her sighs will be your sorrows, and that when she totters you fall.

“ The French army, which has taken the name of the Neapolitan army, as a pledge to protect your freedom, will support your rights, will aid your labours, and will fight *for* you and *with* you; and while defending your cause, we ask no other reward than your affection.”

The hall was filled with people, and this eloquent discourse was followed by applause, and good wishes for the orator, as well as for the prosperity of the Republics of France and Naples, while tears of emotion and pleasure were seen in many eyes. When silence was restored, Carlo Laubert, a Neapolitan, a member of the Provisional Government, but formerly an ecclesiastic of the order of the Scolopi,<sup>1</sup> who had escaped as a liberal to France, and had returned with the army, answered in these words:—

“ Citizen General, our liberty is indeed a gift of France, but the army and its leader have been the instruments by whom the benefit has been obtained. With less valour, less discretion, or less virtue, you could not have conquered an army of extermination, dispersed a people stung to fury, or seized on the strongholds, and overcome the obstacles of the road and the winter season. Let us therefore return thanks to the French Republic, thanks to the army, and thanks to you, General, who have come like a messenger of liberty and peace.

“ In this land, within our bosoms, first sprung up the desire for a better government, the first aspirations for liberty, and the warmest prayers for the prosperity of France; in this land and from our bosoms was shed the first blood to tyranny; here were the heaviest chains, the longest sufferings, the fiercest torments. We had thus proved ourselves worthy of liberty, but had it not been for the errors committed by our tyrants, and the Divine scourge which pursues all

<sup>1</sup> *Scolopi*. *Scuole Pie*, Schools of Charity; an Order founded by Joseph of Calasanzi, for the purposes of education.

whose consciences are troubled by the sinfulness of their lives, we should yet have been under the yoke of Acton, of the queen, of Castalcicala, and all the satellites of despotism. Their crimes alone would not have sufficed (for the people's endurance is great) had they not added error to crime, and had not we been supported by arms, and aided by retributive justice.

"You, General, have given us the Republic, that form of government most befitting men; our task will be to preserve it; but we entreat you to consider it as a tender new-born child, which will need help and counsel; it is your work, give it then your advice and support. If you perceive that we are not equal to so high an office as that you have imposed on us, we will restore it into your hands; for in the face of such an undertaking and such hopes, the thought of self must disappear, and we can only desire to promote the wellbeing of our country. I swear to dedicate myself to this work, and the provisional government selected by you will in your presence register this oath before God and the people." The voices of the twenty-four remaining members all instantly repeated the words, "I swear."

General Championnet left the Assembly with the same state in which he had entered, and followed by still greater applause. Mario Pagano, another member of the government, then turning to the people, thus addressed them:—

"Yes, citizens, we are free; let us enjoy our freedom, but let us not forget that it rests upon the support of arms, upon the payment of the taxes, and upon our virtue; and that in a republic, it is only by excelling in virtue that our arms will find repose, and our taxes be diminished. The constitution and laws of the Government will be directed towards these three ends. As speech is free, do you aid our endeavours by your suggestions, and we will accept your advice with gratitude, and will follow it, if good.

"But listen to me, all you who are animated with a desire for liberty, which I perceive in the joy sparkling in your eyes; listen to the warnings of one grown grey, less from age than from cares for his country, and his sufferings in prison; hasten to arm, and when armed, be obedient to command. Republics are adorned by every virtue, but the noblest virtues are to be found within the camp; wisdom, eloquence, and genius enable States to

progress, but the valour of the soldier alone can preserve them. The republics of early nations (for society commenced as republics) were rude, ignorant, and barbarous ; but they lasted because war-like : the republics of a corrupt era of civilisation soon fell ; for although they abounded in good laws, statutes, and orators, and all the supports and incitements to virtue, the profession of arms was in that generation suffered to decline.

“ Therefore the hopes of liberty depend more on you than on us. No sooner is the Provisional Government acknowledged to be a lawful and constituted authority than we turn to the fulfilment of our duties ; let those who are so full of ardour in the cause instantly hasten to fulfil theirs ; let them inscribe their names on the standard of liberty, which they will recognise in the tricolor.”

The Assembly broke up, and scenes of conviviality in private families followed these public demonstrations of joy. General Championnet, who had taken up his residence in the former abode of royalty, now called the National Palace, entertained the chief officers of the army, and the highest personages in the government and the city ; several members of the Government also gave banquets, but the rejoicings were greatest in those families who had suffered most under the tyranny ; while even the lowest of the populace fêted one another, and good wishes for the Republic resounded on every side ; the relatives of those who had been executed for treason were alone missing in these banquets and festive scenes ; and the more distant the event the more the dead were lamented and extolled.

That same day edicts were circulated throughout the provinces, proclaiming what had taken place, and transmitting directions for the conduct of the government. Orders were issued that until fresh commands arrived, the country was to be ruled as before, only with such modifications as would enable it to harmonize with the general forms of a Republic, and that the authorities, magistrates, and officials, should continue the same. All fears having subsided, and the war being at an end, the provinces were eager to emulate the metropolis, and every town and village showed signs of rejoicings. The next day the trees of liberty (at that time the emblems of a republican government) were raised in the

squares of Naples, accompanied by ceremonies which had rather the character of bacchanalian orgies than civic solemnities, with impassioned orations, frantic dances, vows, and the celebration of nuptials, as in a consecrated temple. Finally, General Championnet, accompanied by the other generals and officers of his army, went in solemn state to the cathedral to return thanks for the termination of the war, to adore the relics of St. Januarius, and to invoke the blessing of God on the new State. The church and chapel were prepared for the sacred rite, and an immense concourse of people stood expectant, eagerly watching the phials to draw auguries for good or for evil. But the miracle was completed in a shorter time than it had ever been before, and the General presented the sanctuary with a mitre richly decorated with gold and gems; the officers appeared to be filled with devotion, as if believing in the mystery, and the populace were satisfied that this change of government was the will of God.

The fête being at an end, and the excitement of novelty subsiding, the minds of men recovered their natural equilibrium, and all were intent on what was to follow, in order thereby to determine their ambitious schemes or conduct. In order fully to comprehend the facts I am about to relate, it is necessary to give a sketch of the state of the Neapolitan people, such as it was before and during this period. Political liberty was only the study of a few learned men derived from modern books, and built upon French theories; therefore as unbounded as the genius of revolution, and as little applicable to the state of society as the dreams of ideal philosophy. The failings inherent in human nature, the errors and even those virtues which by a natural course often degenerate into vices, such as ambition and heroism, both necessary for republics, but which by their very nature are apt to overstep their boundaries, and become dangerous to the State, in short all those necessary accompaniments of man in his present condition, were overlooked or ignored in these abstract doctrines; and a certain ideal of political liberty was created, only too far removed from reality. Still greater ignorance was displayed in practice. No national parliament nor convocations of the people was composed for the conduct of affairs of State; institutions which may be traced to the earliest



periods of our history, but which had been neglected even by the virtuous kings of the House of Swabia. The rights of property were still violated by the Government, and were subject to feudal burdens and church tithes, and were at the caprice of any power which happened to be uppermost; the person of the vassal was at the disposal of the lords and barons, and men were liable to the abuse of the trial by inquisition, were in the power of informers and spies, and might be carried off as soldiers in the arbitrary levies for the army, besides suffering all the oppressions of a state of feudalism; neither arts, trade, nor industry were free, and all independent action was hampered. The only vestige of freedom remained in the popular parliaments for the election of officers for the municipality; a liberty unproductive of good, because standing alone and surrounded by servile institutions.

The comprehension of liberty, and what was worse, even of equality before the laws, was therefore wanting. Liberty is the offspring of nature, and therefore despotism is forced to use repeated efforts and extinguish all independent thought before the sentiment can be obliterated from the human breast. Equality, on the other hand, springs from civilisation and long-established rights; for that the weak should be equal with the strong, the poor with the rich, or the powerless with the powerful, are not natural ideas. Amidst the rude tribes of antiquity men were free but not equal; and a glance at the history of the Neapolitan people (not at the remote and now forgotten Greek republics, but at the more recent although still ancient history of seven centuries, during which time the manners of the people were formed) will satisfy the reader that there does not exist any practical evidence nor indication of political equality in the institutions of the country, but on the contrary, monarchy, a priesthood, feudalism, immunities, privileges, domestic servitude, vassalage, and numberless other social anomalies. Political equality in the year 1799, therefore, was neither demanded as a right, nor so much as dreamed of by the people; the lowest of the populace alone pretending to understand by the term, an equal division of wealth and property.

For this reason the great principles of the French Revolution, liberty and equality, were neither valued nor comprehended in

our country ; which difference alone between the revolutions in France and Naples, was sufficient to suggest a different form of government ; but there were others no less important. The revolution was made *by* France, but *for* Naples. The transition from the extreme of a despotic monarchy to that of a republic, had been the work of three years in France, and of one day in Naples. The political necessities of France were manifested by risings in the people ; such necessities were unknown or did not exist in Naples ; the labour and success of these enterprises satisfied the demands of France, while in Naples it was first necessary to show the people what they were in want of, and to awaken them to desires, in order afterwards to have the merit of satisfying them. The King of France was dead, the supporters of monarchy there likewise dead or in exile ; while the King of Naples was reigning in the neighbouring island of Sicily, and all the adherents of the past were still amongst us. The barons were opposed to the new order of things ; those nobles who were partisans of the Republic were the sons and not the heads of families, and could hardly rouse the retainers on their fiefs, while the priests were in terror of a persecution like that suffered by the French clergy ; monks feared the pillage of their monasteries, and lawyers the repeal of that compilation of codes on which they depended for the exercise of their vocation and the acquisition of fortunes ; and finally, we did not possess any of those qualities upon which liberty depends, and in which France abounded, military virtues and political ambition. The Revolution with us had not even the pretence of legality, because it did not emanate from a Parliament, States-General, nor from any other assembly nor constituted authority, not even from a unanimous movement on the part of the people, but was the result of a conquest which was not yet completed, and of a state of things which alienated the timid and lovers of order from the new government.

Though it was at first proposed that the details of the Government should differ from those of France, they proved to be identical ; a fact to be either attributed to the necessities of the time, or to the intoxication caused by the successes of the French, or, as I believe, to the preponderance of men of genius and erudition in the members of the Government, without any one possessing the

capacity to conduct a revolutionary movement, or the kind of knowledge required to rule a new State. These men had long been the friends of liberty, and had most of them suffered imprisonment in the State dungeons ; they were now called *patriots*, a name adopted from the French to avoid that of Jacobin, which had been disgraced by the evil deeds of Robespierre. The first act of the Government was to send deputies to the French Republic, to express their gratitude for the benefits conferred on them, and to remain as ambassadors of friendship and alliance. The Prince d'Angri, who held a high position from his family and wealth, was selected to fill this office, with the Prince di Moliterno, also a nobleman, who had a still higher claim from his unsullied reputation, his having earned some fame in arms, having opposed the clubs, and been an upright leader of the people in the late war against the French ; and because, without turning traitor, he had abandoned his post when it became impossible to restrain the populace. He was, however, suspected by the new Government, who, while honouring him with the office of ambassador, sent him into exile. The Duke di Roccaromana was too much addicted to pleasure, and too feeble a character to aspire to govern, and was therefore overlooked in the beginning of the Republic. Thus the first acts of the Government betrayed symptoms of jealousy, characteristic of all free governments, a stimulus to virtue in great States, but producing discord in small ; for in the one case it supports, in the other it is destructive of liberty.

A decree was next passed, by which the country was divided into departments and cantons, abolishing the division of provinces, and changing their names for others more ancient and of honoured memory. Thus the rivers, mountains, forests, and the boundaries of nature, frequently became the centres of departments or cantons, and sometimes of districts ; and by an exchange of names, a mountain was sometimes mistaken for a city, and was made the capital of a canton ; the territory belonging to one community was divided into two cantons ; some rivers were named twice, and certain towns wholly omitted ; in short, there were so many blunders, that everything remained as before, and the only effect of the law was to bring the legislators into discredit.

A wise law abolished entails, a measure which had already been

recommended in the works of Filangieri, Pagano, and other learned men, and which was as productive of good results as was possible under existing circumstances. Many communities were at law with the barons, many more were striving to break through the restraints of vassalage; and both parties, with others excited by their example, invaded the feudal domains with lawless violence, divided them among the citizens, and revenged their own wrongs and those of their forefathers by revolutionary excesses. These acts were not wholly displeasing to the Government, who declared feudalism abolished, put an end to the baronial jurisdiction, dismissed armed retainers, forbade personal service, remitted tithes and loans, with all the payments which had been exacted under the title of rights, and promised a new law which should settle the claims of the commons as well as those of the former barons, without retaliating past injuries inflicted by the feudal landholders. The Government was prepared to fulfil this promise, but, entangled in the web of reciprocal claims, and only guided by an abstract idea of justice, they met with obstacles on every side, now in the right of possession, and now in titles; therefore the law, after long discussion, was never promulgated. Of all the members of the Government, he who most steadfastly supported the claims of the barons was Mario Pagano,—opposed to them in all his theories, a philosophical writer, a timid counsellor, and who would have made an admirable legislator in an already-made Republic, but incapable, as were likewise his twenty-four coadjutors in the Government, of founding a new Republic.

Another indication of the popular hatred towards the past was displayed in the case of the royal hunting-grounds. When the chase was made free to the citizens they destroyed the game, effaced the boundaries, and, without regard to claims of property, cut down the wood, reduced the land to cultivation, and divided it, like a conquered territory. Upon this, the Government declared the royal chase national property, and dismissed the rangers. Edicts were issued promising the suppression of convents, the reduction of bishoprics, and the sequestration of the enormous wealth of the Church; benefits which were not understood as such by the people, as was proved during the riots, by the invariable respect maintained, and even increased, towards the Church and

clergy. The abolition of titles of nobility, the demolition of the escutcheons and effigies of former kings, the term National given to everything which had been Royal, and the name tyrant bestowed on King Ferdinand, were the subject of other laws which either proceeded from hatred of the past, or were in imitation of France.

Other branches of the administration were likewise provided for. The finances, which were already disordered, had been rendered worse by the late commotions, while the urgency of the times added to the causes of uneasiness: the principal cares of the Government were therefore directed towards this subject. By a law for which the people were totally unprepared, the deficit in the banks was declared a national debt, and, with the best intentions, payment was promised, which was neither in accordance with justice nor financial rules, as there was not money sufficient in the country to replace such enormous losses, and, by the transfer of bank paper, the actual owners of the certificates were not the creditors in the bankruptcy. By another law, the ratepayers were ordered immediately to discharge their debt to the exchequer for the taxes due to the late Government, as well as to pay the current taxes. The Government taxes were to continue unaltered, until a better arrangement should be made by the new statute.

Meantime the duty upon fish was abolished, greatly to the satisfaction of the fishermen in the metropolis, who immediately became friendly to the Republic. But the abolition of the duties upon corn, as well as the capitation tax (erroneously believed communal), was attended with a very opposite result throughout the kingdom; for the Government taxes being paid by them, to maintain these last and yet abolish the means by which they were obtained, created a confusion, and was impossible in practice. The ratepayers, supported by the new law, refused their accustomed payments; while the tax-gatherers, supported by another law, urged their demands, and complaints and disputes arose in the communities.

In the midst of this scene of disorganization and of pecuniary difficulties, a command was issued by General Championnet, which, while remitting the sum stipulated for in the truce, imposed a war-tax of two millions and a half of ducats on the city, and of fifteen millions upon the provinces; a sum in itself exorbitant, and, in

the actual condition of the country, impossible to raise within the time, which was fixed at two months. The Government, however, obliged to yield to necessity, considered how they could best distribute the burden; and unable to find any precedent in the past history of the finances, from the absence of statistical statements, they laid taxes on departments, communes, and persons, as they judged best: their decisions being influenced by party spirit, those provinces which had been most firm in their adherence to the king, as well as all who had continued most faithful to their oaths, were heaviest taxed. In order to facilitate payment, gold and silver plate, according to weight, was accepted in lieu of money, as well as jewellery, at a valuation, and the feeling of the people towards the Republic was proved by families sacrificing the last remains of their wealth, brides tearing off their ornaments, and mothers depriving their infants of the precious stones they wore as amulets, and of sacred ornaments, to which they attached a superstitious value. But a spirit of discontent was raised by the heavy amount of the tax, by the way in which it was exacted, and by the injustice of the demand itself.

Five of the Government were deputed to represent the general dissatisfaction to Championnet; Giuseppe Abbamonti was chosen spokesman. He appealed to his feelings of compassion and justice, and entreated the general to revoke his order, which at that time was impossible to execute, but which would be easy to obey, when the power and authority of the Republic had been established. He was endeavouring to render these truths more palatable by arguments, praise, and flattery, when the general, interrupting him, quoted the barbarous words of a barbarian progenitor: "*Væ victis esse*" (woe to the conquered!) Among the five was General Manthoné, a retired captain of artillery, a man both mentally and physically strong, a patriot, and one who despised foreigners. Discarding diplomatic forms, and assuming for the moment the office of spokesman, he addressed Championnet in these words:—"Citizen General, you appear to have forgotten that neither have we been conquered, nor are you a conqueror; that you have not entered this city by battles and victories, but by our aid and consent; that we gave you the castles, and betrayed your enemies for the sake of our country; that your weak battalions

were not able to conquer this vast city ; nor would they have succeeded in retaining it, had we separated ourselves from you. To prove the truth of my assertion, leave these walls, and then return if you can ; you may then lawfully impose war-taxes, assume the authoritative tone of a conqueror, and, if such is your pleasure, use the unrighteous words of Brennus, which will then better become you." The general dismissed the deputation, with an assurance that he would reconsider the matter ; but from that hour he became suspicious of the Neapolitans, and the Republican party began to dislike the French.

The general on the morrow confirmed the taxes, and ordered the people to be disarmed. To bestow freedom on men and then deprive them of their arms, is a mere mockery of liberty. The organization of the civic guard was permitted ; but, at the same time, it was ordered that they should be chosen only from the most distinguished and loyal patriots ; and such stringent laws were passed by the Government, that while many were inscribed as ratepayers, few of the citizens were included in the armed militia. No more than four companies were raised in the metropolis, and the number selected was only six hundred. The assessments were very heavy, and unsupported by an armed force, or the attachment to a free government, they were only viewed in the light of a greedy financial measure. The caution or suspicions of the French general, and the theories inculcated by Neapolitan theorists, caused the neglect of a regular army. "All free men are soldiers in a republic," asserted these theorists ; "mercenary armies are the instruments of tyranny. Rome, when she was really free, raised her champions at the time of war ; soldiers are not wanted in republics," with other eloquence of the tribune, containing hypothetical ideas of virtue. Numbers of Dalmatians were begging in the streets, who had formerly been in the service of Ferdinand, and were now abandoned in a foreign land. Gangs composed of men, who had once been the armed retainers of the barons, of the royal provincial courts and of the bishops, with many soldiers who had hitherto lived on their pay, wandered over the provinces, and subsisted by crime. It would have been easy to have formed a new army of twenty-five thousand men, and thus to have rid the country of the danger incurred by twenty-five thousand neces-

sitous persons and robbers. But the Republic disdained to owe its protection to foreign and mercenary troops, and waited until the day of battle to stamp on the ground and see armed warriors start up at their bidding.

A still greater evil was impending in the shape of famine. The harvests of the previous year had been scanty; foreign and domestic war had consumed an immense quantity of grain. Sicily refused to send her rich products, and the ships which left the ports of Puglia and Calabria for Naples were pillaged by Sicilian and English vessels. The price of bread rose, which was felt the more severely by the lower orders from the loss of their accustomed gains. A great many domestic servants had been dismissed, there was a pause in all industry, and evil agents were at work, who expected to derive advantages for themselves from the desperation of the people. But the rulers were not alarmed; they confided in the zeal of such of their supporters as possessed full granaries, in the compensation offered by the blessings of a free government, in the resignation of the people, and the glory of suffering for their country. As they themselves excelled in these virtues, and were little experienced in the evil side of human nature, they believed them to be universal, and therefore thought it was only necessary to convince the people of the excellence of the existing form of government, to allay all dissatisfaction. They accordingly sent forth swarms of patriots to harangue and persuade them of this fact. It was enough to provoke grief and indignation to hear beardless orators holding forth in the empty market-place on the benefit of the republic, and in a style of eloquence not their own, but borrowed from the French, and which had no effect on their vulgar auditors, filled with opposite ideas, and yet these youths presuming that they could silence the complaints and demands of the people.

The wisest and most rational of all these orators was Michele il Pazzo, the former leader of the people in the tumults of the city, who had acted as peacemaker on the arrival of Championnet, and who, when affairs had changed, had been raised to the rank of a French colonel, and was often sent on missions to the people. He harangued them in the vulgar dialect, the only language he could speak, standing on a height whence he might be seen above the



heads of his audience, and spoke without preparation, allowing them to argue with him, and reply. He once remarked, "Bread is dear, because the tyrant orders the ships bringing us corn from Barbary to be pillaged. How ought we to act? Hate him, maintain the war against him, and rather all of us die than see him our king again; and earn our daily bread by labour during this scarcity rather than give him the satisfaction of hearing that we suffer." At another time he addressed the people in these words:—

"The present Government is not a republic; the republic is making; but when made, we idiots shall know it, either by our enjoyment or suffering. Those who are wise know when the seasons change; we know if we are hot or cold; the tyrant made us endure war, hunger, pestilence, and earthquakes; if they tell us we shall be happy under a republic, let us give them time to prove it.

"He who is in haste sows his fields with radishes, and eats roots; he who would eat bread sows corn and waits a year: so it is with the republic; those things which are to last want time and trouble; let us wait."

When asked by one of the people what was the meaning of the word *citizen*, he answered, "I do not know, but it must be a good name, because the *Capezzoni* (a term by which the lower orders designated the heads of the State) have adopted it for themselves. By calling every one citizen the great lords are no longer your excellence, nor are we *Làzzaroni*; that name makes all men equal."

In answer to another question:—"What does the word *equality* mean?" "That this," pointing to himself, may either be a *Làzzaro* or a colonel. The great lords were colonels before their birth; I am one by equality: men were once born great, now they become so."

I pause here, not to dwell too long on this subject, but I have heard many more sayings of this low-born man containing the same common sense, and I only regret being forced to weaken his most pithy remarks by not being able to give them in the lively and concise words of the vulgar dialect.

Many priests and friars addressed the people on the subject of the Government, and, deducing the doctrine of political equality

from the gospel, translated the words of Jesus Christ into the Neapolitan dialect, thus strengthening and exciting their hatred of the king, their attachment to a free Government, and their obedience to existing authorities. They explained the flight of Ferdinand, and the arrival of foreigners with the change of government, as fulfilments of the prophecies; and together with the prophecies they mingled the cross, equality, liberty, and the Republic: thus, while exhibiting themselves in their sacerdotal robes, and speaking a language which was superstitiously believed in, they insinuated views favourable to the new State. But there were other ecclesiastics who were inspiring opposite ideas in the confessionals, and foolish youths counteracting the labours of wiser men by their doctrines, that no restraint was to be placed on a man's conscience, and by preaching that belief and the choice of religious worship were free; that there were neither Divine rewards for virtue nor punishments for crime, and that no future existed for man more than for brutes.

The attention of the rulers, which had in the first instance been confined to the metropolis, now extended to the provinces; but following the same course, they sent commissaries to the departments, and others to the cantons, armed with as much authority as was needed for the enforcement of the laws, and empowering them in urgent cases to act on their own responsibility for the maintenance of public tranquillity. They were accompanied by many persons who, under the name of *Democratizzatori*, without any particular office or stipend assigned them, were charged to persuade or compel the cities and towns of the provinces to adopt republican forms; and provided with letters-patent from the Government, they stirred up the populace with real or pretended zeal, in the expectation of being rewarded by public offices and profit. It is easy to conceive how unwelcome were these commissaries and *Democratizzatori* to the inhabitants of the provinces, who are a rude and simple but shrewd population, totally indifferent to the charms of a liberty they had never experienced, who despised empty declamations, and who had never looked beyond the abolition of feudalism, the division of feudal lands, a diminution of the taxes, and an improvement in the administration, and justice. These demands did not escape the orators of the republic,

but they spoke of them casually, promised them at some future time, and mixed them up with the subject of religious reforms, liberty of conscience, a proposal for civil marriages, the non-observance of wills, and numberless other propositions, suggesting a lax morality, repulsive to the habits and feelings of the rude peasantry. The chief aim of these harangues was to enforce the payment of the government taxes, and to remind the people of the assistance and support which citizens owed to their newly-acquired freedom.

Proceeding from speech to action, the Commissaries began to investigate the acts and opinions of the magistrates, who, being old, and chosen from the partisans of the past government, did not satisfy the extreme ideas of youths who were vehement partisans of liberty; and they were therefore supplanted by new men. Many of the respectable inhabitants of the provinces who had been dissatisfied with the past government from the tyranny exercised over them, and from the spoliation of public and private property, favoured and supported the new order of things; but they stopped midway when they perceived that the State was not governed on established principles, but by theories from which they anticipated danger and ruin.

There was another voice which had not yet made itself heard, but was not long silent, that of public accusations. Niccolò Palomba, anxious to accuse Prosdocino Rotondo, one of the twenty-five members of the Government, collected a large meeting of patriots, and after stating his crimes and the proofs against him, and urging the utility of bringing the matter before the public, asked the assistance of those present against so influential a man, since in these times all real power resided in the sovereign people. The motion was approved, the accusations read, and a promise was given to support this bold resolution. As there was neither precedent nor forms for such a procedure, the accuser presented himself before the Provisional Government, accompanied by a number of his clients, and read the libel aloud; his audience all retaining their seats as legislators, and the accused forming one of the august congress. Astonished at this proceeding, they doubted whether the accusation should be admitted, but it was listened to at the request of the accused himself. The libel treated of misdemeanours long past, or rather which had never been committed. Rotondo bore an unsullied

character, while that of Palomba, except in his attachment to the Republic, was tarnished by suspicion and misdeeds; but his factious supporters believing this act to be a proof of freedom, a thousand voices were raised in praise of the plaintiff, and the plan of attack was concerted with him in secret meetings, whilst the accused demanded an open trial. The Government considered the prosecution of this iniquitous trial a scandal, and by its example endangering the unimpeachable authority of the representatives of the State; they therefore resorted to the weak expedient of suspending the proceedings; they conferred on Palomba a high office which he had coveted, sending him commissary into one of the departments, and hoped that the turpitude of their acts would be passed over in silence. A month from that time, when the form and persons of the Provisional Government had been changed, and Prodocino Rotondo had returned to the condition of a private citizen, he availed himself of his privilege as a free man, to demand the renewal of the trial before the ordinary magistrates, by whom he was acquitted. Rotondo magnanimously refrained from bringing a charge of libel against his accusers, and there was not found a single guardian of the laws who had the courage to act for him.

These facts show the manner in which public employments were given away, the power of secret societies, and the weakness of the Government. A thousand similar accusations were at once brought forward, and neither a fair reputation, the probity of a man's past life, nor the purity of his present conduct, could check the ambition or arrogance of unprincipled men. A tribunal was instituted called the Censorship, to receive accusations, to examine into them, to expedite trials, and to provide facilities for the accusation of the prosecutor, as well as the necessary defence for the accused. Popular societies sprang into existence at this time, some of them secret, and others open, whose members prepared the accusations. The most noted of those which were public, were the Patriotic Society and the Popular Society, which, following the example of French *Clubs*, held public and private meetings under a president, with a tribune, a programme of the subjects under discussion, and a book to record their decisions. The great political questions of the day, the new constitutions for the State, the laws, ordinances,

the war, offices, officials, and the public and private lives of the citizens, were there examined into with the freedom or rather license of the tribune; and their decisions were either sent up to the Government in the form of a message or advice, or were carried before the tribunal of the Censorship as an accusation, or were referred to the people in order to excite a tumult. No man could rest secure, confiding in the purity of his intentions, no voice of calumny was to be despised; every enemy had the power to injure, and merit of whatever kind was dangerous; changes were perpetually occurring in the offices of state, while bitter hatreds and faction were actively at work. Calumnies and accusations became loud, and were not silenced until the fall of the Republic, for the spirit of faction (a symptom of infirmity in the ruling power) must destroy a Government, if not itself destroyed.

Whilst the most difficult problems relating to the new statute were under discussion in the Patriotic Society, and even French liberty seemed too limited for us, the Constitution of the Neapolitan Republic appeared, drawn up for the Legislative Committee by Mario Pagano. It was identical with the French Constitution of 1793, with only a few slight modifications; but we regret to read there the abolition of the communal parliaments, which, though turbulent and useless under a despotic government, are, in a republic, the most fitting means by which to carry on the elections and administrations, the pivots on which every free government moves. The judicial power was rendered too weak, and the administrative was not left wholly independent, while the project of a body of Ephors met with general approbation, because intended to support the sovereignty of the people. The Constitution was built upon two principles; first, to produce a balance of abstract powers, without too much interference with the balance of existing forces, or that which forms the real strength of a free state, namely, the habits, opinions, and peculiar characteristics of the people; and secondly, jealousy to guard against the encroachments of the executive power and of influential citizens. The Neapolitan Republic was not allowed time to try the experiment, whether any code of laws could hinder the downfall of a free state which bears within itself the germs of its own ruin; but one year later, these very laws, jealous as they were, could not save the mother Republic from her

fall ; fortunate at least in falling into the hands of one who was Emperor fifteen years, and who preserved for her a large share of her liberties, while unhappy Naples was swallowed up in a whirlpool of despotism.

The Provisional Government were engaged in the discussion of the statute for the constitution, and were finding some consolation amidst present troubles in their hopes for the future, when, to increase their embarrassments, a certain Faypoult, a French commissary, arrived in Naples. He brought a decree from his Republic, which, maintaining the rights of conquest, ratified the war-tax, and declared the treasure of the Crown of Naples, the palaces or royal residences, the woods of the royal chase, the endowments of the orders of Malta and Constantine, the wealth of the monasteries, the allodial fiefs, the banks, the porcelain manufactory, and the antiquities buried beneath the ruins of Pompeii and Herculaneum, to be the appanage of France. Championnet, alarmed at the general dissatisfaction caused by this measure, and foreseeing danger on the horizon, and who was besides not at heart a bad man, stopped Faypoult in the execution of the decree, which he annulled by an edict ; but the commissary insisting, a dispute arose, and the strongest conquered. Faypoult was dismissed and took his departure. The Neapolitans were so much delighted at this event, that while their hatred against the French became twofold, they began to conceive a liking for Championnet, and to find excuses for his past severities on the plea of necessity. The populace quoted his acts of devotion, and his rich gifts to St. Januarius, and an idea, the origin of which is unknown, circulated among them. In the baptismal registers of the Church of St. Anna, was found the name of Giovanni Championné, whose parents were not those of the general, and the date of whose birth even was different ; but in spite of these discrepancies, Championnet was believed to be a Neapolitan, although he really came from Valence in Dauphiné.

The people were therefore grieved when they read in the French *Gazette* a decree of the Directory to this effect :—"Seeing that General Championnet has employed force and authority to prevent the fulfilment of the powers confided by us to the civil commissary, Faypoult, and that he has thus placed himself in open

rebellion against the Government, the citizen Championnet, general of division, formerly commander of the army of Naples, shall be put under arrest, and brought before a court-martial to answer for his offence."

The general immediately departed, and the command of the army was assumed by Macdonald. Championnet was tried in France, acquitted, and restored to his command in the army with increased honours, but soon afterwards died in poverty at Antibes, and, if reports speak true, of poison administered by others or by himself. The Neapolitans sympathized with his misfortunes, and lamented him the more as Macdonald came accompanied by that same Fappoult, an insolent, hard-tempered, inflexible man, who delighted to revenge himself for the joy the people had expressed at his dismissal, and the attachment they bore his enemy.

About this time news arrived that the French had occupied the States of Tuscany, and that the Grand Duke Ferdinand III., with his family, had departed. The French Directory, insatiable in conquest, after invading the States of Lucca, had demanded from the Tuscan Government the reason for their hostility manifested by the reception of the Neapolitan troops, the enemies of France, and by affording an asylum to the Pope, Pius VI. The Grand Duke replied that he had not acted thus in a spirit of hostility, nor in hatred against the Republic, but that he had been obliged to yield from necessity, he being the weaker power, which had been his motive for tolerating the reception of the Neapolitan troops in the port of Leghorn, which had been menaced by a strong fleet of Sicilians and English; and that with regard to the Pontiff, there was no law forbidding him to afford a shelter to Pius, and that it was the duty of every Christian prince to concede a refuge to the head of Christendom in his old age and misfortunes. Although these excuses were plausible and praiseworthy, and although the disasters of the French arms had already commenced on the Adige, which made it advisable to unite rather than divide the armies of the Republic, yet such was the inordinate thirst for conquest of the Directory and of General Scherer, the commander-in-chief in Italy, that a French legion, under General Gauthier, was sent against Florence, which, arriving beneath the walls, demanded by a herald the surrender of the city. Ferdinand III.

resigned himself to the necessity of the hour, and, in reply, published the following edict :—

“To my people,—

“French soldiers have arrived in Tuscany ; we shall consider it a proof of the loyalty and attachment of our subjects if they obey the commands of those in authority, maintain the public peace, respect the French, and take every means to avoid giving offence to the new rulers. Such conduct will increase (if it is capable of increase) our affection to our people.”

The French then entered Florence ; the Grand Duke departed on the following day, the 27th March, and the peace of the city was not disturbed. This success increased the dominion of the Republic as well as their adherents, and the Government of Naples rejoiced. It was their last cause of rejoicing, as from that time forth every day brought tidings of disaster.



## CHAPTER II.

INSURRECTIONS OF THE BOURBONISTS IN THE PROVINCES—ATTEMPTS  
AGAINST THE REPUBLIC BY THE KING OF SICILY AND THE ENGLISH—  
RETREAT OF THE FRENCH.

WHEN the consternation of the Bourbonists, caused by the disastrous war, the conquest, and the new Government had subsided, the provinces, finding that the much-talked-of but invisible French battalions made no attempt to repress their first acts of resistance, broke out into open rebellion, and armaments were formed in various parts of the kingdom. The majority of the people were opposed to the new order of things, which were only supported by a few young men, who possessed little influence; while the prudent were silent, less from any dislike to the Republic, or attachment to the past government, than from an anticipation of impending evils and dangers. In the cities through which the French army had passed, the injuries they had caused were not imputed to the necessities of war and conquest, but to a want of discipline in the soldiers, and of forbearance in their chiefs; and those cities which had yet been unvisited by the French, were in fear of a similar infliction. The dissatisfaction was universal. The Dalmatians, the baronial retainers, the troops of the royal provincial courts, and all who were accustomed to depend for a livelihood on their pay, formed themselves in bands, and made inroads into the country, with the aim or pretext of serving their king; but, meantime, enriching themselves by booty and plunder.

In the Abruzzi, where the Bourbonists had for a time suspended, but never laid down their arms, they brandished them again more fiercely than ever, led on by their chiefs Pronio and Rodio. Pronio in early life had been an ecclesiastic, but prompted by his evil passions, he had enrolled himself as a retainer in the baronial

squadrons of the Marquis del Vasto ; having been guilty of homicide, and sent to the galleys, he escaped by his strength and agility, and turned to infesting the roads ; enlisting on the Bourbonist side, he fought with success against Duhesme, when, chosen leader by his comrades, he gained fame, security, and wealth. Rodio was by birth a gentleman ; he was a classical scholar and doctor of laws, but crafty and ambitious ; and, foreseeing the disasters which threatened the Republic, he threw himself on the royalist side, and was welcomed by the rabble as the first example of a man of gentle birth, and unstained by crime, who had embraced that party, which until then had been supported by men of the lowest description ; Rodio was therefore proclaimed their chief. The city of Teramo, and several other towns, returned to their allegiance to the king ; the French meanwhile retained the fortresses of Pescara, Aquila, and Civitella, and scoured the country round in search of provisions, restored the trees of liberty where they were cut down, reanimated their adherents, and punished their opponents. The rest of the inhabitants of the three provinces were divided among themselves, and, adopting the views of the strongest party, were sometimes for the king, sometimes for the Republic ; but, as jealousies and disputes between the municipalities had at all times kept neighbouring districts at variance, so now their choice was often determined by the contrary choice of their neighbour, and became a greater excitement to offences, quarrels, injuries, and bloodshed.

In the Terra di Lavoro, many villages on the borders were domineered over by Michele Pezza, a native of Itri, born of low parents, a murderer and thief, on whose head the Government had for some years past set a price, but by frequent good fortune, or cunning, he had come off victor in every encounter, and escaped all dangers, by which he obtained from the peasantry (who have a proverb signifying that devils and friars are crafty and invulnerable) the name of Fra Diavolo, which he retained as a proof of his prowess throughout the civil wars, and up to the time of his death ; he was bold, fearless, and shrank from no crime ; placing himself at the head of a numerous band, he lay in ambuscade amidst the rocks and woods of his native country, from whence he could see an enemy at a distance without being seen, and thence prepared

his attacks on stragglers from the French, or on those marching in small detachments, putting all to death without mercy. Ranging throughout the country from Portella to the Garigliano, he murdered the French couriers, and whoever might possibly be the bearer of letters or messages, and interrupted the road between Naples and Rome.

In the same province, but in another part of the country, called the district of Sora, Gaetano Mammone, a miller, carried on the war at the head of a large band of followers; his fierce character, the reverse of everything human, was nearer that of a wild beast; and, while relating his deeds, I shrink with disgust from the stories told of this horrible monster. Thirsting for blood, he drank it with pleasure even from his own veins, and revelled in that of others. When at table he liked to have a human head placed before him, which had been freshly cut off, and was yet bleeding; and he quaffed blood or liquors from a skull, which he would frequently change. Had not all these facts been confirmed by Vincenzo Coco, highly esteemed both as a man and author, a councillor of state, and honest magistrate, who relates them from the testimony of an accredited witness, I could not have believed or repeated stories so revolting. During the civil wars, Mammone put to death at least 400 French or Neapolitans with his own hand, causing his prisoners to be dragged from their dungeons, that, whilst at table with the chiefs of his band, he might slaughter them for the amusement of his guests. Yet King Ferdinand and Queen Caroline wrote to this man, or rather beast, "My general and my friend."

To return to the state of the country. Numbers were in arms in the province of Salerno, and the difficult and intricate defile of Campestrino was occupied by Bourbonists, who only yielded it after an engagement with a strong column of regular troops. From thence the Bourbonists scoured the country in the vicinity of the towns of Cilento, the mountains of Lagonegro, and even of the capital of the province; the road to Calabria was thus filled by Bourbonists, and closed against all besides. The city of Capaccio, and the towns of Sicignano, Castelluccio, Polla, and Sala, raised the royal standard, and threatened all who adhered to the Republic. The Bishop Torrusio, after rousing the city of Capaccio

to rebel, made use of temporal as well as spiritual weapons ; whilst in the other towns of the same province, the royalist leader was Gherardo Curci, surnamed Sciarpa, who had once been a captain of armed retainers in the royal provincial courts, and when dismissed from that office, had offered his services to the Republic, but had been rejected, and insulted by being called a satellite of despotism.

A still more sanguinary war was afflicting the Basilicata, as the people there fought with blind fury, not caring whether they were governed by a monarchy or republic, but only using either pretext to wreak their vengeance for old offences. The combatants were numerous on both sides, and, formed into large bands, were daily engaged in contests and in continual slaughter. Two incidents worthy of record occurred in the midst of these domestic calamities. The inhabitants of the little city of Picarno, who had with heartfelt rejoicings celebrated the change of government, when attacked by the Bourbonists, barricaded their gates, and aided by the strength of the place several times repulsed the invaders. They continued to hold out, until the fortunes of the Republic declining everywhere, they were besieged by immense numbers, and the citizens were obliged to fight from their walls. After a time, their supply of lead was exhausted ; a consultation as to the remedy to be adopted was held in an assembly of the people, and it was resolved, first, to melt down the pipes of the church organs, next the lead of the windows, and lastly the domestic utensils, and those used in pharmacy, by which means lead became as plentiful as powder. The priests excited the people to fight, by prayers in the churches, and public squares ; those who were too old, or too young, assisted as far as their strength would allow, and the women took compassionate care of the wounded, while some of them disguised as men fought by the sides of their husbands or brothers, deceiving the enemy less by their change of dress than by their courage. So much valour obtained its reward, for the city did not succumb until the fall of the province and of the State.

In Potenza, not far from Picarno, and a large city, now the capital of the province, Francesco Srao had been bishop ; he was the same honourably mentioned in the second book of this history, as at one time persecuted by the Holy See for Jansenism, but

supported by the king. Some years later, when Ferdinand had changed his policy, he grew weary of the bishop, who was accused of being a friend of republicanism and a favourer of the French. When the riots therefore first broke out, he was attacked in the episcopal palace, where, discovered in the act of prayer before the cross, he was dragged through the streets and murdered ; his head was cut off, placed on the point of a lance, and carried through the city. The murderers were few in number, only seventeen, and none of them belonging to the lower orders. A wealthy citizen of Potenza, Nicolò Addone, of fierce disposition, a devout son of the Church, and attached to the Republic (though secretly, as he feared to endanger his riches in the uncertain state of public matters), swore to revenge this atrocious deed ; and not daring to do so openly, he resorted to stratagem. Feigning himself a Bourbonist, and that he rejoiced in the death of the bishop, he invited his murderers to a banquet, and after a sumptuous repast, and immoderate indulgence in wine, he put them all to death by the sword ; and most of them by his own hand, assisted by his followers, who either joining in the banquet, or concealed in the house, waited his signal for the onslaught. This horrible act roused the indignation even of the partisans of the Republic, and Addone being warned, fled from Potenza, and after remaining long concealed in the woods, took refuge in France. Many years afterwards he was pardoned for his crimes by a decree of the new king, Joseph Bonaparte, and returned to the kingdom. He has since been seen playing the part of false witness in trials for treason, and thus injuring honest citizens, to assist the cause of the Bourbons. He has, however, escaped all punishment, and still lives in the enjoyment of his hoards of ill-gotten wealth.

Four Corsicans, of the names of Cesare, Boccheciampe, Corbara, and Colonna, excited an insurrection against the Republic in Puglia. Cesare had been a livery servant in Corsica, Boccheciampe was an old artillery soldier who had deserted, and Colonna and Corbara were mere vagrants subsisting by evil ways. The crimes of all four had obliged them to fly from Corsica, and they had left Naples from fear of the French ; they were now in the ports of Puglia, seeking the means of embarkation for Sicily or Corfu. Arrived at Monteiasi, they happened to lodge with an innkeeper

of the name of Girunda, who had a talent for intrigue, and they plotted together how to raise the people in favour of the Bourbons. It was settled that Corbara should personate Prince Francis, the heir to the throne; Colonna, the Lord High Constable, his equerry; Boccheciampe, the brother of the King of Spain, and Cesare, the Duke of Saxony. Girunda was to act in the conspiracy, as avant-courier, bear witness to their identity, and trumpet this fraud upon the people. The real Prince Francis had shortly before visited Puglia, but Girunda trusted to the credulity of the weak, and to the profits these mummeries held out to rogues. Their parts were arranged in the night, and Girunda went before daybreak to announce the arrival of the princes in a mysterious manner, that this city might be the first to join them. His story was believed; and an immense crowd, composed of the lower orders, hastened to the little inn where these great people were lodging, and eagerly offered their services as soldiers or attendants. Colonna descended into the street, and, in the name of the prince thanking all present for their zeal, dismissed them. Girunda had meantime procured a carriage, and as they entered it, the three Corsicans feigned great respect towards Prince Francis, who, graciously saluting those around, and saying, "I throw myself into the arms of my people," ordered the carriage door to be shut, and departed for Brindisi.

The talent for adventure so largely developed in the Corsicans, enabled them to assume the haughty air, the magnanimity, and lofty demeanour of royal personages; they departed before dawn and arrived at their next halting-place as night fell in, while Girunda travelled some miles in advance to find lodgings, and prepare the people for their reception. The presence of the princes was therefore confirmed by a thousand voices, each declaring he had seen them, and adding, as usual in marvellous stories, facts which, however absurd, were believed. Their success exceeded their hopes; an armed populace followed the carriage, surrounded the house where the impostors lodged, and tearing down the emblems of the Republic, restored the royal dominion. The pretended Prince Francis revoked some of the magistracies, created new, emptied the treasuries, and imposed heavy taxes on the families of rebels; he was more submissively

obeyed than the real prince, because more impudent, and supported by the people, ready to execute his orders. The Archbishop of Otranto, who had long known Prince Francis, who had been with him the year before in the same city, where he had assisted at ceremonies in the church and the palace, now became a participator in the fraud, by confirming in writing that this was the real prince, and only as much altered in appearance as might be expected after a year of so much anxiety about the war, and the affairs of the kingdom.

The impostors turned back towards Tàranto, where, on their arrival, they found a vessel approaching the shore, which was conveying the old Princesses of France, fugitives from Naples to Sicily. These daring fellows were not, however, to be daunted; Corbara sent a message to the princesses, informing them of this wonderful fact of popular credulity, and went in regal state, and with the ease of manner of a relation to visit the ladies; who, although possessed of their full share of the pride inherent in the royal Bourbon race, were yet so eager to assist the cause of the king, that they received this low-born man as a nephew, and gave him the title of Highness, while lavishing on him every mark of respect and affection. The people being thus confirmed in their belief, numbers assembled in arms for the royal cause; even those who were incredulous or convinced of the imposture, followed where fortune seemed to lead, and the three provinces of Puglia rose in rebellion. Corbara was now desirous to place his ill-gotten wealth in security, and proclaimed that he purposed to go to Corfu, taking with him the constable Colonna, and to return with a large Russian army; and further, that he left as his lieutenant and generals in the kingdom, the brother of the King of Spain, and the Duke of Saxony. He was hardly out of the gulf when he was captured by pirates, and lost his riches and his life. Colonna, though he escaped death, was heard of no more. Boccheciampe was slain while defending the castle of Brindisi against a French vessel; but meantime Cesare, the fortunate leader of a numerous band of followers, gained possession of Trani, Andria, and Martina, large and strongly fortified cities, without meeting with any opposition, whilst the smaller cities and the greater part of Puglia were vanquished by the sound of his name, and submitted to the king.

The state of Calabria has yet to be described. Although more adherents of the Republic were to be found among the Calabrese than elsewhere (perhaps owing to the desire to revenge the sufferings they had endured under the most oppressive form of feudalism, or because they retained in their rude habits and manners the virtues of a primitive and free state of society), yet a considerable number of the inhabitants adhered to the king; the proportion of republicans to that of their opponents in the whole state, may indeed be computed as only ten in a thousand. The Calabrian Bourbonists sent both written and verbal messages to the king in the adjoining island of Sicily, informing him of the condition of these provinces, and entreating him to send even a small body of soldiers, and a sufficient supply of arms, with authoritative persons, laws, and proclamations, to promote the zeal of the people which had already been roused, to succour his kingdom, and thus take pity on his faithful subjects, exposed to the vengeance of foreign and domestic foes. Other messengers from Naples and Puglia confirmed the tidings of the popular insurrections, and the ease with which the French might be expelled, and the rebels subdued. But the king persisting in his idea of treachery, refused to believe these accounts, which he thought some fresh artifice, and confided solely in the armies of his allies; thus deceiving himself as to the injury he was inflicting on his own cause. The queen and Acton justified the faults of their government, imputing them to the treason of the subjects, and Mack endeavoured in a long defence to shield his own errors behind those of the army; the deserters from the camp also found an excuse for their delinquencies on the same plea, and Captain-general Pignatelli accused the Eletti of the city, the Sedili, and the greater part of the nobility with being traitors; nothing therefore was heard in the palace but the words treason and traitors, and menaces of future punishment and vengeance.

On the arrival of the old princesses of France at Palermo, they related the scenes they had witnessed at Taranto, and declared the popular risings in Puglia real and extensive; this story was confirmed by English officers sent in ships to explore our coasts, and a council was accordingly held, in which it was decided to support the movement. Among all the councillors, Cardinal Ruffo was the



most eager for war, the king therefore ordered him to visit the fiefs belonging to his family in Calabria, there to see with his own eyes and ascertain the condition of the provinces, and, according to circumstances, to advance into the kingdom or return to Sicily; his rank, name, and dignity, might be of use in the enterprise, and would shield him from the malice of his enemies. He readily complied, and departed provided with only a few followers, and still less money, but with unlimited powers, besides large promises of assistance. Fabrizio Ruffo, crafty by nature, though ignorant alike of literature and science, was born of a noble but unprincipled race, and having led an irregular life in his youth, had become still more corrupt in his old age; poor, yet with extravagant tastes, he had while young chosen the easy path to the prelacy, and having ingratiated himself with Pope Pius VI., he was appointed to a high office in the apostolic chamber, which he retained until, by his too large and sudden acquisition of wealth, he lost his office and the pope's favour; he then returned a rich man to his native country, leaving behind him in Rome many influential friends, whom, in a corrupt city, he had found it easy to gain by gifts, and the allurements of fortune. He asked and obtained from the King of Naples, the superintendence of the royal palace of Caserta, but afterwards returning into the good graces of Pius, he was made a cardinal, and went up to Rome, where he continued to reside until 1798, but upon the outbreak of revolutions there, he sought shelter in Naples, and soon afterwards followed the king to Palermo.

He reached the shores of Calabria in February 1799, and having first communicated with the servants and retainers of his house, he landed at Bagnara, preceded by the cross and all the insignia of his dignity; he was received with reverence by the clergy and notabilities of the place, and with frantic expressions of joy by the people. As soon as the intelligence of his arrival and intentions had spread, numbers of the populace from the adjoining districts hastened thither, led by gentlemen, priests, or friars, who, when they saw one decorated with the purple place himself at their head, did not disdain to join in that disorderly and tumultuary warfare. Colonel Winspeare, who formerly commanded the garrison of Catanzaro, the auditor Angelo Fiore, the Canon Spasiani, the Priest Rinaldi, and with them many soldiers who had deserted or

been dismissed, and malefactors who had just before been infesting the country as banditti, besides criminals let loose from the dungeons during the tumults, offered themselves to fight for the king; and the Cardinal, after this first success, published the decree which appointed him lieutenant or regent of the kingdom. He left Bagnara escorted by a numerous but discreditable assemblage of followers, with whose support, and without any fighting, but only by the rumour of their approach, he subjugated all the cities and towns as far as Mileto. The strong city of Monteleone, reputed to be republican, was summoned to surrender and threatened with extermination, but the citizens saved their lives by offering money, horses, provisions, and arms. At Mileto the cardinal assembled as many of the bishops and other ecclesiastics of rank as he could collect, with magistrates who had formerly been employed under the king, soldiers, and officials, as well as such citizens as were influential by their names or wealth; and after laying before them the nature of the charge he had accepted, he urged the just and sacred cause of the throne and of religion; and then called upon all to join him who were loyal to their king and devout towards God; wearing as a sign and acknowledgment thereof the white cross on their arm and the red cockade of the Bourbons on their hats. They were promised in recompense, besides rewards in heaven, an exemption from the government taxes for six years to come, and the profits arising from the war, or levied upon the property of rebels, which was from that day forth forfeited to the royal exchequer, besides the tribute to be imposed upon the cities and towns of all who should oppose them; further, he enjoined them to cut down the accursed trees of liberty, and set up crosses in their stead. The army was to be called the army of the Holy Faith, in order by this name to indicate the sacred object of the war. A solemn procession was then formed to the church, and the Cardinal, after pronouncing a loud blessing on their arms, continued on his way without encountering any opposition, and always triumphant, by Monteleone, Maida, and Cutro, towards Cotrone. Cotrone, with weak walls and a small citadel on the Ionian Sea, was only defended by its citizens and thirty-two French, who tempest-tost on their way from Egypt had sought shelter there; but however high the courage of the garri-

son, they were short of arms, ammunition, and provisions, and were attacked by many thousand Bourbonists; after the first attempts at resistance, therefore, they demanded conditions of surrender; these were refused by the Cardinal, who, not having sufficient money to satisfy the greedy multitudes who surrounded him, and unable to supply their demands by the small gains made on the road, had promised them the sack of the city. After a few hours of unequal combat between a small and discomfited band, and a vast multitude eager to obtain a rich and certain prey, Cotrone was taken with the slaughter of her citizens, armed and unarmed, and given up to pillage, license, and wanton barbarity of every kind. The rioting lasted two days, and on the following morning a magnificent altar with a cross in the centre was erected in the camp; after mass had been celebrated by a warrior priest of the Holy Faith, the Cardinal richly attired in purple, pronounced a eulogium on the deeds of the two past days, absolved the crimes committed in the heat of the fight, and with his arm raised on high, made the sign of the cross and blessed the troops; he then placed a garrison in the citadel, and abandoning the scattered remnant of the inhabitants (the miserable remains of the massacre), without a leader and with nothing but the recollection of the terror and disasters they had suffered, he departed for Catanzaro, another city on the side of the French.

Arrived in sight of this place he inundated the country round with his troops, and sent a message demanding its surrender. But Catanzaro, perched upon an eminence, encircled by strong walls, and containing a population of sixteen thousand inhabitants, provided with arms, and prepared (after the fate of Cotrone) for the last extremities rather than submission, replied—that she had not rebelled, but had yielded to the power of the French arms, as she was now ready to yield to the greater power of the Holy Faith; that she was willing to return to the dominion of the King, but on condition that her citizens should be spared, and that no inquiry should be made into their opinions or acts in favour of the Republic; that the troops of the Holy Faith should abstain from entering the city, and that the Royalist magistrates should only be admitted within their walls, under the escort of the civic guard; this was in case peace were accepted; but if war,

they informed the Cardinal that sixteen thousand armed men were ready to perish before the walls, rather than endure the sufferings and indignities which had been inflicted on Cotrone. At these words Ruffo, perceiving that victory was neither certain nor easy, feigned moderation, and declaring that the disorders at Cotrone had been owing to the obstinate resistance of the city having excited the ardour of his troops, he consented that if Catanzaro would raise the Bourbon standard, and return to her allegiance to the king, he would consent to yield obedience to her laws and magistrates; that a civic guard composed of royalists should be the only force demanded by the royal authorities; that neither the opinions of the citizens nor their acts in favour of the Republic should be inquired into, and that the Bourbonist troops should not enter the city: Catanzaro, on her side, was to pay twelve thousand ducats towards the expenses of the war. The peace thus concluded was maintained, and as all this part of Calabria had returned to the king, the Cardinal proceeded towards Cosenza.

Such was the internal condition of the country at the end of February, whilst Sicilian and English ships were cruising along the coasts, stirring up the people to revolt, attacking the maritime cities which were faithful to the new Government, and sending on shore armed men, weapons, and the edicts of King Ferdinand, as well as newspapers containing facts adverse to the interests of France. The Russians and Turks about this time gained possession of several of the Ionian Islands, and were besieging Corfu; and it was currently reported that when they had completed this enterprise they would turn to Italy. Nelson had quitted Sicily and was sailing about the Mediterranean, while many of the Roman cities bordering on our frontier were fighting for the restoration of their former Government; risings had commenced at Arezzo, a city of Tuscany, and a powerful Austrian army was collected upon the Adige, only waiting for the signal to commence war. It was known that the army of the king in Sicily was increased by eighteen thousand fresh soldiers, that General Stuart with three thousand English was garrisoning the city of Messina, that the ardent friends of monarchy were forming themselves in bands to enter the States of Naples, and to increase the

strength and courage of the army of the Holy Faith, while the sovereign and his people were alike animated with savage fury against the French, as may be proved by two facts which occurred about this time.

In the course of this year's campaign a ship hoisting a neutral flag, was conveying fifty-seven invalids from Egypt to France, among whom were Generals Dumas and Mansceur, the naturalist Cordier, and other celebrated persons, the most remarkable being the learned and distinguished geologist Dolomieu. The ship having been shattered by a tempest, sought shelter at Tàranto, trusting to her flag, and the peace which was not yet known in Egypt to have been interrupted. But this confidence was soon dispelled; for the Corsican Boccheciampe, who held possession of Tàranto, caused the ship to be detained, and the French, including Dolomieu, were barbarously shut up in a horrible dungeon, from whence they were only removed as prisoners to Messina; but party spirit raging there with great violence, they were thrown into still worse dungeons; Dolomieu, who had been near death in a late illness, was demanded by the French Government from the King of Sicily, and this request was repeated by the Royal Society of London, by the King of Denmark, twice by the King of Spain, and by the voice of all the philosophers of Europe, alike horrified at his treatment; but he was not released until after the French had obtained fresh victories, when, in the twentieth month of his imprisonment, he was included in the conditions of peace with Naples, but carried with him so severe a malady, that he soon afterwards died, before completing his fifty-first year.

Another ship which had sailed from Egypt, in company with that which was conveying Dolomieu, was caught in the same tempest, and sought shelter in the port of Agosta, intending to proceed to France with the forty-eight persons she had on board, soldiers, officers, and commissariat officers, all suffering from blindness, occasioned by a disease engendered in the climate of Africa. But neither their unhappy state, nor the respect which the honourable scars upon the brows of these warriors might have inspired, nor the thought that they had been driven to seek shelter from the violence of the waves, that their vessel was shivered to pieces, and that they had trusted to the faith of treaties, could restrain the

ferocity of the people of Agosta, who in armed bands attacked the ship from small boats, and inhumanly murdered these blind and helpless men. The royalist magistrates did not attempt to interfere or stop the massacre, and after the restoration of peace with France, the king refused to punish the murderers, alleging in excuse that in popular tumults the guilty were confounded with the innocent, and therefore the former must escape the proofs of their guilt and their consequent punishment.

Such and many more melancholy facts reached the ears of the provisional government, and at length roused them from their apathy; for desirous of peace, they had hitherto refused to believe in the necessity of war and punishment. Incredulous of the first news, but when forced to believe, confiding in the powerful fascinations of liberty, they felt assured that, without resorting to force, the turbulence of the people would shortly subside; that they were impatient only from ignorance, but that as soon as they were convinced of the advantages of the new State they would indubitably repent their violence, and tranquillity would be restored: and they trusted more to the efficacy of harangues, explanations, and the eloquence of their emissaries, than to soldiers and artillery. The increasing danger, however, at last somewhat shook their confidence, and they appealed to the French commander-in-chief, requesting him to aid the Republic in repelling the attempts of the ex-king, supported indeed only by the dregs of the populace, but nevertheless alarming from their numbers and ferocity. This request was granted, and two squadrons of French and Neapolitans were sent, one to Puglia and the other to Calabria; for the risings in the Abruzzi had met with little and fluctuating success, and the insurgents were kept in check by the French posts along the line of operation between the Roman States and Naples, and by the fortresses of Civitella and Pescara. The provinces of Avellino and Salerno were subdued by the columns on their way to Puglia and Calabria. The Basilicata occupied by these same columns, was soon restored to tranquillity, and the only enemies, therefore, yet to be defeated were Ruffo and De Cesare.

The larger of the two columns and the best troops were sent to Puglia, in order as soon as possible to recover those provinces which

are the granaries of the nation, and had been prevented sending provisions to the famished capital, by the interference of the Bourbonists by land, and of the English by sea. General Duhesme was chosen to command that corps, which numbered six thousand French, and more than a thousand Neapolitans, under Ettore Caraffa, Count di Ruvo. This nobleman was of the high lineage of the Dukes d'Andria, the eldest son and heir of his family: a liberal from his youth upwards, he had suffered imprisonment in Sant' Elmo in 1796, but had escaped with the officer who guarded him. He had returned to his country in the army of Championnet, and devoted to arms, and ready to engage in enterprises of daring, he despised danger, with everything, human or Divine, vice or virtue, which stood in the way of his schemes; he was therefore a powerful instrument in revolutionary times. The other corps destined for Calabria, of one thousand two hundred Neapolitans, which was expected to be reinforced on the way by the patriots flying before Cardinal Ruffo, was led by Giuseppe Schipani, a native Calabrese, and soldier: a lieutenant when dismissed the army, he was an able officer though ignorant of science, and had been raised to the high position of general under the Republic, in reward for the zeal and valour he had displayed as a member of the patriotic societies. The first corps, after subjugating Puglia, was ordered to proceed to Calabria, while the second was only required to keep the army of the Holy Faith in check; the first, therefore, was destined for conquest, the second for defence. The despatches of the Government breathed the mild spirit of the rulers, who trusted to effect more by a display of their forces, by the moderation of the chiefs, by the discipline of the soldiers, and by their own magnanimity in granting pardon, than by the use of arms; this spirit rendered them incapable of protecting the interests of an embryo Republic, and was a consequence of enervation produced by long servitude.

Schipani, when traversing Salerno and Eboli, passed near Campagna, Albancella, Controne, Postiglione, and Capaccia, all friendly cities or towns, and first came in sight of the Bourbonist standard flying from the bell-tower of Castelluccia, a little village on the summit of a hill, reached by mountain paths. Although his object was Calabria and Cardinal Ruffo, this sight so fired his indig-

nation, that he turned out of his road to attack the rebel village, selecting the most difficult of the three ascents, as if in defiance of all impediments. The Bourbonists from above perceiving they were attacked by regular troops, with artillery carried on mules, were seized with a panic, and after holding a tumultuary council in the church resolved to surrender. But it happened that Captain Sciarpa was present, who accused them of cowardice, and proposed, if it were necessary to yield the place, at least to insist on the following conditions ; that their return to the empire of the Republic should be voluntary, and that armed men should not enter their village as conquerors. Sciarpa himself was charged to carry out this resolution, and he accordingly sent to Schipani demanding peace, and in order to vaunt the strength of the place, and at the same time to assist his own fortunes in a new line, he framed his message in the following terms:—"The inhabitants of Castelluccia were desirous of defending their village to the last, but Captain Sciarpa not being disinclined toward the Republic, and ready to prove his loyalty, if employed in the army of the State, has persuaded them to surrender." He then proceeded to propose conditions. The enemy listened with impatience, and replied that he had come to Castelluccia for war and not for peace ; to punish, not to reward ; and that the rebels must surrender at discretion, or be prepared for the last extremities ; words conveying the most atrocious meaning, and as impolitic as barbarous in a civil war.

While reporting to the people who were still collected in the church what had passed between him and the enemy, Sciarpa added—"Now you see the effects of your cowardice and your precipitate resolution of surrender. There are only two courses left for me ; if you summon up your courage, I will lead you to battle and victory ; if you yield yourselves to a proud and cruel conqueror, and with yourselves your effects and your women, I shall retire with my possessions by another road which I deem secure, and will fight on more advantageous ground, and with a braver people." They answered in one voice, demanding war, and hardly had the priest made the sign of the cross from the altar over their arms, and pronounced his blessing on their resolution, than all went forth to meet the enemy ; Sciarpa directing their movements,



and instructing them how to fight. Meantime the republican troops had arrived exhausted at the first houses of the village, and had to stand a brisk fire of musketry from invisible enemies, which did not however stop their progress: following their General, who, sword in hand, excited them by his example and voice, they reached the entrance to the town, where they were met by a sharp fire, and some fell dead, others wounded, without the appearance of an enemy. As courage proved unavailing, the spirit of the men began to flag, and their leader sounding a retreat, was preparing to withdraw them, when the enemy who lay in ambuscade, rushed from behind the walls, and following the fugitives down the slope, killed some, captured others, and dealt with savage cruelty upon the prisoners and wounded: Schipani withdrew his troops into Salerno, and the event increased the courage and fame of Sciarpa.

The fortunes of the corps sent to Puglia were very different from that just described; the strongly fortified and hostile cities of Troia, Ducera, and Bovino, surrendered at once, and the French were gladly welcomed into Foggia, a friendly city. They revived the courage of Barletta and Manfredonia, who adhered to the Republic, and prepared to attack Sanseverino, a populous city, which had been reinforced by the arrival of the inhabitants of Gargano, all resolved on victory or death. The city had no walls nor had it been fortified by its defenders, who trusted to their desperate valour and to their numbers, consisting of twelve thousand men capable of bearing arms. They proposed to ensconce the bravest among them, on a kind of platform covered with olives and vines, close to the town, where they might lie in ambuscade and pursue the enemy; when as usual enticed by love of plunder and license they should enter the city separately, in search of booty. When at Bovino, General Duhesme had punished all rebels with death who had been guilty of theft, and even included the French soldiers; and he now set up a placard, stating these acts of discipline, in lieu of threats or promises to the inhabitants of Sanseverino. They, on their side, put several republicans to death, both respectable citizens and priests, only because they entreated for peace; they then informed the General of these cruel acts, calling them acts of discipline, after his example or in mockery of his proclamation. Roused to indignation, Duhesme advanced against Sanse-

verino on the 25th February. Having learnt the designs of the Bourbonists by strategy or by spies, he sent a strong detachment of troops to skirt the left of the hill, to dislodge them from the olives, and in the event of victory (which he believed certain) to cut off their flight. The Bourbonists guessing the intentions of the enemy, and having sufficiently strengthened their first front with cannons dragged thither by main force, and by a numerous body of light cavalry who scoured the plain, like Numidians, rushed out from the wood, and fighting valiantly, forced the French squadron to retire.

Another squadron hastened to their assistance, whilst Duhesme assaulted the city by means with which the defenders were unacquainted, and having dispersed their cavalry which, though not strong, had harassed his troops, he seized their batteries, surrounded and gained possession of the hill of olives, after which he sounded his trumpets to victory and indiscriminate slaughter. In the midst of this discomfiture of the Bourbonists, the first squadron effected the movement assigned them, and thus the flight of the Bourbonists being cut off, and the battle at an end, the massacre commenced, in which the French were the more unsparing, as they had to revenge the deaths of three hundred of their comrades, at least as many wounded, besides the executions in the town, and the insolent replies which had been sent to their offers of peace. Three thousand of the inhabitants of Sanseverino were lying dead upon the field, and the havoc was still continuing, when the women with dishevelled hair, their dresses torn and soiled, and carrying their infants in their arms, presented themselves to the conqueror, praying that he would stop the slaughter, or consummate the punishment deserved by rebels on the wives and children of the few men who remained alive. So moving a spectacle excited the compassion of the French, who relaxed their severity, and reassured the conquered city.

The example of Sanseverino, which damped the courage of many small towns in Puglia, only served to confirm the cities of Andria and Trani in their resolution to resist. They were reinforced by numbers who had fled from the fight, and by whom they were encouraged in the belief that Sanseverino had fallen by treachery; an invention not unusual with fugitives, and which meets with too

ready credence. General Duhesme having increased his force by eight thousand French from the Abruzzi, prepared to advance upon Andria ; while at that very moment envoys and hostages from the three provinces of Puglia, arrived in his camp. In Naples, meanwhile, the command of the army had been changed from Championnet to Macdonald, and the aim and plan of that campaign had been altered ; the troops were all recalled, except a handful who were left in Foggia, and one battalion at Ariano, another at Avellino, and a regiment at Nola. The Turks and Russians were besieging Corfu, when these news reached the army, and the ships of both flags coming within sight on the Ionian and Adriatic Seas, the hopes of Trani and Andria rose, and the other cities or towns which had surrendered at the rumour of the approach of the French, now, at the rumour of success in an opposite quarter, turned Bourbonists ; the hostages likewise took their departure, or escaped, and thus regained their liberty. Sanseverino alone, although burning for vengeance, deprived of the youngest and bravest of her men, all her remaining inhabitants mourning for those killed in battle, and every house and inch of ground bearing the marks of recent slaughter, was obliged to submit, though bemoaning her unhappy fate.

Matters had now reached an extremity, when it became necessary either to resign Puglia as lost ground, or to reconquer it. A fresh squadron of French having been collected at Cerignola, as numerous as the first, and placed under the command of General Broussier, joined the Neapolitan legion of Ettore Caraffa, and directed their march upon Andria. Andria contained a large population, and was surrounded by walls with three gates ; after the unhappy fate of Sanseverino, she increased her defences, by repairing her walls in several places, where they had fallen in ruins, by raising new fortifications, and barricading two of her gates, digging a wide ditch, and by throwing up a high trench before each. The city was defended by ten thousand Bourbonists, aided by the inhabitants, who numbered seventeen thousand. Priests and friars used the powerful incentives of religion to excite the people ; and, raising a crucifix of colossal size upon a large altar in the public square, they asserted that, during the celebration of mass, they heard the holy image declare that no

power on earth was sufficient to obtain possession of a city defended by the cherubim of paradise, and that a numerous band of soldiers and people would shortly arrive to the aid of the inhabitants of Andria. These promises were written out in large characters, and placed in the hand of the crucified image, there to be read by the people. As it chanced, the day before the appearance of the French, a battalion of Bourbonists arrived, brought thither in transport ships from Bitonto, and tidings reached Andria that English, Russian, and Turkish soldiers were expected in a few days; the predictions, therefore, were confirmed, and the people, secure of victory, rejoiced, and had no fear of the approaching combat.

The enemy around Andria divided his forces into three columns (as many as there were gates), and attacked, or feigned attacks against the city on the best military principles, while the defenders kept the assailants at a distance by a discharge of cannon and musketry from their ramparts. General Broussier gave the signal, and amidst martial sounds and the roar of artillery, the Republicans advanced at a charge, and placing the scaling ladders against the wall, began to mount them; but as many were killed and more wounded of the bravest and most distinguished of their men by the volleys of musketry, stones, and rubbish thrown from above by the defenders, a retreat was sounded, and, derided and insulted by their opponents, the attacking party returned to the camp. Luckily for the French, just at that moment the gate towards Trani was burst open by the explosion of a shell, and Broussier, with a chosen band of his men, happening to be stationed near it, they rushed in; but as he penetrated into the city, he found the battle raging fiercer within, as every house was converted into a castle; and although the second column came up through the same gate in support of the first, Broussier was hesitating whether to proceed or retire beyond the walls, when he saw Ettore Caraffa advancing to meet him with his troops of Neapolitans and French. They had been stationed opposite the gate called Barra, but unable to succeed in battering it down, and hearing of the peril to which Broussier was exposed, they had attacked the walls by scaling ladders, and alike indifferent to the loss of their comrades and to their own wounds, had made their way into the city.

During this assault, Colonel Berger, when seriously wounded on the ladder, caused himself to be assisted to mount; and Ettore Caraffa was seen with a long ladder on his shoulder, and a Neapolitan pennon and a naked sword in his hand, surveying the height of the walls, and seeking a place the ladder could reach; having found it, he ascended the first, and entered the city alone. Though the whole force was now in Andria the battle was not ended, for such was the valour of the Bourbonists, that ten men within a weak building sustained the attacks of whole battalions of French for many hours, and others gave proofs of no ordinary courage. The city of Andria at last succumbed. It had once been a fief, and afterwards the rich possession of Ettore Caraffa, by whom it had just been stormed; yet in the council of war he proposed that it should be burnt to the ground,—a marvellous instance of self-denial or thirst for vengeance. This sentence was confirmed by his comrades, and the commander-in-chief ordered its execution, which was followed by a vast destruction of property, and by misery which would be too painful to describe.

The rage of either party was yet far from satiated. A still greater number of Bourbonists were collected in the city of Trani; and the army of Broussier proceeded thither, though with diminished numbers, for at least five hundred brave soldiers had been killed or wounded at Andria. Trani was a stronger city, protected by massive walls and bastions, and with a large supply of cannon, vessels equipped for war, better disciplined troops, a citadel, and the plan of defence prepared. Broussier advanced in three divisions, and having invested the city in the night, raised several batteries, and by three attacks, two of which were feigned, but the last, led by himself, real, endeavoured to effect a breach; but the defenders discovered his designs, and frustrated his attacks. The combat was carried on from both sides, those within the walls being vigilant and active, those without watching the accidents of the day, with a caution which will be appreciated by all acquainted with the rules of war; for though we may often gain our end by valour, yet we more frequently secure the victory by taking advantage of the errors of our opponents, and seizing opportunities presented by fortune. In this instance the city was in fact taken by an accident, for it happened that upon the sea-shore there

lay a little fort, almost concealed by rocks and walls, and that day left imperfectly garrisoned by the least available of the citizens. This fact was discovered by a soldier on the side of the French, who hoped to reach it by walking through the sea or by swimming. Having informed some of his comrades of his intention, and hoping by the smallness of their number to obtain the greater glory, they advanced to the assault. The water was breast high, but carrying their arms above their heads, they reached the rocks, clambered over the ruins of the old wall, and arrived at the top of the ramparts, without being seen by the guards, who, however, paid for their carelessness with their lives. One of their comrades, whom they had left as a vidette in the camp, informed the commander-in-chief of their success, and, at a given signal, a large detachment of troops was sent thither and entered the fort ; but instead of having to make their way by a difficult access through the sea and over rocks, they scaled the walls without opposition. As soon as the Bourbonists heard of the danger to which they were exposed, they hastened in crowds to attempt the recovery of the lost castle, but the skill and valour of the French repelled all their attacks.

The defenders were diverted from their vigilance on the other fronts of attack by the battle which was thus raging on the coast ; and General Broussier commanded a second attack on the walls, which proved successful ; for although he lost many killed or wounded, he forced a way into the city, where the battle became still more sanguinary and terrible, but occasioning most loss to the French, who were fired at from the houses, and from behind the barricades or trenches, almost without seeing an enemy. They therefore determined to get to the tops of the houses, which in Puglia have flat roofs, and to pass from one to the other by breaking through the walls, or making bridges of the beams and other timber. The aspect of the battle was now changed ; the defenders who had been secure within their houses, surprised by the enemy, descended from the roofs, and as the fortifications and heavy artillery of the citadel were now rendered useless, and the guards behind the ramparts killed, a new kind of warfare commenced, which disheartened the people, and disconcerted the whole scheme for their defence. After the destruction of the means they had pre-

pared for resistance, even their resolution to fight to the last failed with the impossibility of success. Their arms dropped from their hands, and Trani was in the possession of the enemy; less as a punishment than as a second example, the city was in the fury of the moment reduced to a heap of corpses and ruins. Ettore Caraffa, valiant in war but cruel in council, and who had taken the little fort on the sea, and afterwards assisted to gain possession of the city, supported the vote by which Trani was ordered to be burned.

Leaving the unhappy city to its fate, the army proceeded to Bari, Ceglia, Martina, and other cities or towns where they reanimated their friends, subdued their enemies, and imposed heavy taxes on all; for besides having to satisfy the rapacity of foreign troops, Caraffa had to provide for his own necessities, as he had no means left but those of war by which to maintain his soldiers: himself a native of Puglia, he replied to the deputies of those communes who appealed to him for the removal or diminution of the tribute unjustly imposed on faithful and friendly cities, by citing as an example the necessary rigour which had been employed towards his own city of Andria which had been burned at his desire, and that he himself was ready to resign his family possessions, his high name, his repose, and his very existence for his country. The French column in Puglia repeatedly dispersed and defeated the Bourbonists in open fight, owing to want of skill in their leader De Cesare, who was a coward at heart, and profoundly ignorant, for he had been trained in domestic servitude, which is unfavourable to the growth of military courage, and even destroys its germ where bestowed by nature. The adherents of the king were discouraged by the number of disasters and deaths, and the rule of the Republic was once more feared and its symbols respected in Puglia. But Duhesme, as well as Broussier, was recalled, as both were implicated by Faypoult in his charge against Championnet; and Generals Olivier and Sarrazin were sent to command the troops, with orders not to advance into the more distant provinces, and to keep their soldiers prepared at the first intimation for a retreat upon Naples.

General Macdonald suspected that they would not be able to maintain their footing in Lower Italy, as the French army in the north were meeting with one disaster after another. The Austrians

had begun their march, and the Russians were following. The battle of Magnano, which was long contested, although occasioning much loss to the Germans, had forced the French to quit the Adige, encamp behind the Mincio, and thence fall back on the Oglio. Mantua was invested, Milan threatened, and the army of Scherer which had been reduced to 30,000 men, had to face 45,000 Germans, as well as 40,000 Russians who were advancing behind them. The French armies in Piedmont, Tuscany, and Naples were at a distance from Lombardy, and engaged in an inglorious warfare against the people of these countries. Such was the state of affairs in Italy, when the Turks and Russians, having taken Corfu and the Ionian islands, as well as the islands which had once belonged to Venice, despatched forty ships of the line containing 32,000 soldiers to the coasts of Italy, and the Italians who hated the French, because they were foreigners and innovators, and for their depredations, supported their enemies, and hoped for greater freedom at the hands of the Turks, and the soldiers of the north.

The state of the interior was even worse; for in the provinces beyond Puglia, the Bourbonist party was increasing in numbers and daring. Pronio and Rodiò had recovered for the king almost every city and town of the Abruzzi; and while avoiding encounters with the French, and leaving them unmolested and masters of the field, wherever they encamped they persuaded the people to return to their former attachment to their sovereign. Mammone occupied Sora, San Germano, and all the country watered by the Liri; Sciarpia had gained possession of Cilento, and menaced the gates of Salerno, while Cardinal Ruffo, proceeding along the south of Calabria, attacked the cities of Corigliano and Rossano, and, dividing his chief band, sent Licastro against Cosenza, and Mazza against Paola, the only cities of that province which continued their adherence to the Republic. Paola fell, and the liberals there repaired to Cosenza, while Cassano and Rossano obtained miserable conditions at a high price. Cosenza alone continued to resist. One De Chiaro, who had been chosen leader, because an ardent liberal, commanded the troops there; he had 3000 Calabrese under him, and though the city was unprovided with walls, it was protected in one place by trenches, in another by houses and fortified mounds, and, in its largest circumference, by the river Crati, by the



two branches of which it was almost surrounded. There was an abundance of arms and provisions, and the inhabitants were not wanting in resolution. But when their hopes were at the highest, the Bourbonists entered without opposition at the place where De Chiaro with his largest force was stationed, and after having by his example and words seduced as many of his own men as he could, he led the enemy treacherously to the other posts, and thus the city was taken in a few hours. Some of those who continued faithful fled across the river, and by the valour of their arms held out until night; others by pursuing wild mountain paths reached the shore and embarked; others trusting to former friends were betrayed, while some by a happy chance effected their escape.

The cardinal (his numbers increased by the numerous hordes of De Chiaro) wisely turned to Puglia, where he hoped the news of his arrival would reanimate the spirit of the royalists, which had been discouraged by recent events; though ignorant of the art of war, he understood that of exciting civil turmoils, and conducted the difficult enterprise with skill. As his army was composed of a set of ruffians, robbers, and desperate characters, he permitted cruelty, rapine, and other crimes, in order to insure success. Many of the bishops and clergy, of high rank from distant parts of the country, secretly concerted revolutionary plans with him, while he stimulated their zeal if lax, and checked it where premature. He always addressed them in the conciliatory but equivocal language of an ecclesiastic, and contrived to spread tidings of the near approach of his troops in Puglia; the courage of the royalists therefore reviving, the pretended Duke of Saxony again took the field in the southern towns of Tàranto and Lecce.

The Cardinal advanced slowly in Calabria, so as to allow time to spread the news of the decline of the Republic; he reduced to obedience the extensive region of the Basilicata, which is washed by the Ionian Sea, and abounds in corn and cattle, men and cities. General Macdonald meantime recalled the French troops from Puglia, but their march was conducted with so much skill, as rather to appear a military stratagem than a retreat; but the Corsican De Cesare no sooner heard that the land was cleared of the enemy, than he advanced cautiously to take possession. Just then the envoys of our Republic returned from France, where they

had been sent to obtain a formal recognition of the Neapolitan Government, and to conclude a league of amity, and they brought back tidings that the Directory had, under various pretexts, refused our requests, thus betraying their intention of abandoning the country to its unhappy fate—a country which had suffered from its attachment to France since 1793, which had by her been changed into a Republic, had paid her tribute, been impoverished for her sake, and which she was now about to deliver into the hands of former tyrants—the usual fate of a people who commit their destinies to the keeping of foreigners! Along with the envoys, came the French Commissioner Abrial to institute a better organization of the Neapolitan Republic; for, among the excuses put forward by the Directory, was the imperfect form of government bestowed upon us by Championnet. Abrial was reputed an honest man, a friend of liberty, and thoroughly versed in the subject of the people's rights and modern theories of government, and his residence in Naples only served to increase his already high reputation.

He took the Government of France as a model for that of Naples, and confided the legislative power to twenty-five citizens, and the executive to five, assisted by four ministers. He himself selected the persons who were to fill these three offices, and while retaining many of the former government, he added new, and changed them frequently with others. Among the new was the physician Domenico Cirillo, who, on receiving intimation of his appointment, answered, "The danger is great, but the honour still greater; I am willing to dedicate my poor talents, my small means and my life, to the Republic." The new Government immediately entered upon office with constitutional forms either borrowed from France or such as those now in power judged best; the constitution proposed by Mario Pagano, although long discussed, had not yet been agreed upon, and was therefore handed over for examination to the second Legislative Congress, which, being relieved from the responsibility of conducting the affairs of State, were now wholly occupied with the important study of new laws, codes, systems of administration, finance, feudalism, the army, public worship, and national education; after which their attention was directed to the erection of magnificent monuments in

honour of the Republic. For this end they invited architects to compete in a design for the construction of a Pantheon, where the names of Deo, Vitaliano, and Galliani, were to be inscribed in legible characters ; they decreed a monument to Torquato Tasso in his birthplace at Sorrento, and that, where the ashes of Virgil repose, a tomb should be raised in marble on the spot, worthy of his name.

Whilst the representatives of the Republic were planning schemes of future greatness, Cardinal Ruffo was engaged with the siege of Altamura, a large city in Puglia, strong both from its position and fortifications, and still stronger by the valour of its inhabitants. But the Cardinal, joined by the Corsican, and emboldened by his first taste of success, pitched his camp in sight of the walls, and began the attack. The Bourbonists, though more undisciplined than ever, had gained in military experience, and were increased by the number of veteran soldiers and others sent them from Sicily, or who had joined as volunteers ; they were well provided with cannon, material of war, field artillery, and gunners, and were superior in everything to their opponents, except in valour. The attacks continued fruitless for many days, and were attended with much loss, which increased the rage of the assailants, and the courage of the citizens, who witnessed from their walls the religious rites performed by the Cardinal in the camp. He had erected an altar beyond the range of the enemy's fire, and caused mass to be celebrated every morning, while, attired in his purple robes, he pronounced a panegyric on those who had fallen the previous day, prayed for their intercession as if they had been saints, and pronounced a blessing, making the sign of the cross over the arms which were that day to be used against a city in rebellion against God and the king.

Religious ceremonies were likewise taking place within the city. The people there were adoring the cross in their churches, where they were excited to fight by the words and symbols of liberty. Provisions were scarce, stores of ammunition still more scarce ; and if the liberality of the rich, and the economy of the citizens, relieved them from one kind of privation, the necessity of keeping up a rapid and continuous fire increased their dread of the second. Ignorant of the art of fusing the church bells, the citizens melted

down all the metal off their houses for projectiles ; and as they were unable to aim correctly with stones blown from the guns, they made use of copper money, and thus the roar of the artillery did not cease until their powder was exhausted ; the enemy then advanced their batteries close to the wall, and a breach being opened, proposed to the inhabitants that they should surrender at discretion. This was refused, because (if the nature of the Cardinal had not that day suddenly changed) they knew that he only intended to spare the lives of the assailants, and none of those of the citizens ; that they would thus be destroyed without risk to their destroyers, and that death would be the harder to bear when deprived of their arms and the means of resistance. The citizens of Altamura, therefore, defended the breach with their swords, and with beams of wood and stones, killing many of the enemy ; but when they perceived the city was taken, all who were able, men and women, left by the gate where the enemy were fewest, and flying and defending themselves to the last, made their escape. The fate of those who remained was horrible, for the conquerors showed no mercy ; they killed women, old men, and children, and committed every atrocity. Neither Andria nor Trani, nor perhaps (if history speak true) Alesia nor Saguntum, could compare with the destruction and slaughter which took place at Altamura. This infernal scene lasted three days, and on the fourth, the Cardinal, after absolving the army of their sins, gave them his blessing, and proceeded to Gravina, which he also sacked.

The bands of Pronio, Sciarpa, and Mammone, with other adventurers, who were daily turning with the wheel of fortune, advanced more slowly, but with not less success. Never were the temptations to selfish ambition stronger, nor oaths less respected. The Cardinal gladly welcomed the traitors, commended their treachery, and promised higher rewards for greater achievements, should these even involve a crime, thus still further corrupting the already corrupt morals of the people. The republican cities in the Basilicata, though valiantly defending themselves, finally surrendered to Sciarpa, on condition that the lives of the citizens should be spared, but consenting to resign their liberty, and submit to the Bourbons. The provinces of Abruzzo, with the exception of Pescara and a few towns garrisoned by the French,

Calabria, and Puglia, had now all wholly returned to their allegiance to the king, and the Republic was confined to a few miles round Naples. General Macdonald was petitioned to send his soldiers against the rebels, but he replied that military reasons obliged him to decline. The republicans, though uneasy, were not yet alarmed, when the General pretending that residence in a luxurious city was causing a decline in military discipline, announced his intention of encamping his soldiers at Caserta, concealing the fact that he had received news of the disasters in Italy, and that Scherer had been several times defeated by the united Austrians and Russians; that the battle of Cassano had been lost by Moreau, and Milan taken by the enemy who had crossed the Po, and occupied Modena and Reggio; and that the Italian people, either from ignorance or because irritated at the French spoliation, had joined the adversaries of France. The activity of the Bourbonists divulged these disasters, and discovered the deceptions practised by the French general, who, roused by attacks on all sides, proclaimed in an edict:—

“That every town or city in rebellion against the Republic shall be burnt and levelled to the ground.

“Cardinals, bishops, abbés, curates, and all ministers of Divine worship, shall be held responsible for acts of rebellion in the places where they reside, and shall be liable to the punishment of death.

“Every rebel shall be liable to the punishment of death, and every accomplice, whether lay or spiritual, shall be treated as a rebel.

“None are permitted to ring a double peal, and, wheresoever heard, the ecclesiastic of that place shall be punished by death.

“Whoever shall spread news adverse to the French, or to the Parthenopean Republic, shall be declared a rebel and suffer death.

“The loss of life shall be accompanied with loss of property.”

The army of Macdonald was in camp at Caserta, when 500 soldiers of the King of Sicily, and a considerable body of English, landed from Anglo-Sicilian vessels on the shores of Castellamare. These soldiers, aided by the Bourbonists and the batteries from the ships, took possession of the city and the little castle which protects the port. Having mastered the place, they put many of their opponents to death, and the garrison of the fort, although

French, surrendered on terms. When the peasantry of the small villages round Lettere, Gragnano, and the rude population of the neighbouring mountains, learnt what had occurred, they hastened to the spot. The beautiful city of Castellamare was given up to pillage and every disorder. At the same time, an English regiment, accompanied by a considerable force of Bourbonists, landed near Salerno, took that city, and roused Vietri, Cava, Citàra, Pagani, and Nocera, to revolt in favour of the king; after putting a number of the inhabitants to death, and collecting much plunder, they formed the rabble (who had hastened thither from all parts in search of booty, rather than from any interest in the war) into bands of soldiers. When this intelligence reached the French camp, though unable to terrify them, it roused their indignation at the insult offered their name and valour.

On the 28th April, General Maedonald with a large detachment of troops, and General Vatin with another not less strong, advanced to the encounter of the enemy. Maedonald came up with them on the banks of the Sarno, fortified by entrenchments and artillery; but on finding themselves attacked they fled, abandoning their cannon and a few of their men, who had been disabled. The conqueror next subdued the towns of Lettere and Gragnano, and descended on Castellamare, where the English and Sicilians, and many of the Bourbonists, were escaping in crowds in the ships. A fleet of the Republic, which had left the port of Naples in the night, attacked them valiantly, and although the wind was unfavourable and drove them beneath the bows of the hostile frigates, they prevented the escape of many, who falling into the hands of the conqueror, were killed or detained prisoners. The fruits of this victory to the French were three royal standards, seventeen cannon, fifty Sicilian soldiers, and as many Bourbonists; besides having satiated their revenge for the insults offered to the fame of their arms. In the middle of the night, when the Anglo-Sicilian vessels were far out at sea, though still within sight of the city, the town of Gragnano and several houses were set on fire. This destruction of property was disgraceful both to those who gave the order, and to those who executed their command, because it was useless for the war, and proceeded from a savage thirst for vengeance.

General Vatin, with still greater inhumanity, put three thousand of the enemy to death, sparing none of the prisoners except those who belonged to the regular army, and a few Bourbonists, whom he reserved only to hand over to the tribunals, in order that they might be made a tremendous example. He sent triumphantly to Naples fifteen cannon taken in battle, with three standards, one of King George of England, and two of King Ferdinand of Sicily, and with a long file of Sicilian, English, and Neapolitan prisoners. The rebel cities, though they had now returned to their allegiance to the Republic, had to pay heavy fines to the conqueror.

But the day had arrived when the Parthenopean Republic was to be abandoned to her own resources; General Macdonald came to Naples from Caserta, and addressed the Provisional Government assembled to receive him, to this effect:—a State which is protected by foreign arms cannot be wholly free, and the Neapolitan finances are unable to maintain the French army; nor does Naples need their assistance, provided the friends of liberty will volunteer to attack the disorderly bands of the Holy Faith; he therefore expressed his determination, after leaving strong garrisons in Sant' Elmo, Capua, and Gaeta, to depart with the rest of his army, to disperse (as he hoped) the enemies of the Republic who had descended into Italy, and who trusted for success less to their own weapons than to discord among the Italian people, and to their long habits of servitude. Wishing the Parthenopean Republic all prosperity, he would inform his Government how worthy the Neapolitans had proved themselves of liberty; and that the people and the populace were not to be confounded, since these last alone were fighting for servitude under the banner of their tyrants; but that even they might be easily induced to change, like all who are only covetous of booty and plunder. After the members of the Government had replied with friendly and congratulatory addresses, he took his leave and returned to the camp. Incredible as it may appear, the Republicans rejoiced at the proposed departure of the French, for, simple and straightforward themselves, it appeared to them impossible for human nature to have any aversion to freedom; and they believed that the late rebellions had been caused by the excesses, exactions, and in-

solence of the conquerors ; they therefore felt assured that on proclaiming their departure, the hordes of whom the army of the Holy Faith was composed would disperse of themselves, and that the remnant of that party would fly discomfited to Sicily. This gave rise to a report that the Prince di Leporano, a brigadier in the Royalist army serving under the Cardinal, had deserted that banner, and had gone over to the Republic ; that he had taken his chief prisoner, and further, that Sciarpa, Fra Diavolo, and Pronio, were left alone with a few followers ; besides other false rumours.

Meantime, on the 7th of May, the camp at Caserta was raised, and the French army set out in two divisions ; one-half led by Macdonald, taking the road of Fondi and Terracina, and carrying with them the great park of artillery and the baggage ; and the other, under Vatin, marching by Sangermano and Ceperano. At the same time, General Coutard, who was commanding in the Abruzzi, collected his squadrons, and marched by the shortest road through Tuscany, confiding the fortresses of Civitella and Pescara to Ettore Caraffa, who, returning with the French from Puglia, had proceeded with his followers to the Abruzzi. Macdonald and Coutard met with no opposition. Vatin having taken Sangermano in fight, reached Isola, a small town of the district of Sora, but was there obliged to halt. Isola is situated at the junction of two rivers, large tributaries of the Garigliano, by which it is surrounded, and could only be reached by bridges which the Bourbonists had broken down ; as the city was thus protected by the rivers, and girt about by an ancient wall, the inhabitants felt secure and were full of courage. Vatin sent to demand a passage, which, he said, if denied he would use force to effect ; but the defenders, either despising or refusing to acknowledge the rules by which a herald is held sacred, dismissed him by a discharge of musketry. There was no ford in either river, a heavy rain was falling, the French were in want of provisions, and to conquer had therefore become an act of necessity. The legion of Vatin was marching along the left bank of one river, while the legion of Olivier marched along the right of the other in search of a ford ; but not finding one, they constructed a bridge of fascines and gabions, with other timber, which was, however, too weak and narrow, and but ill adapted to



bear the weight of gun-carriages and the rapid march of many soldiers across it ; therefore, while half the legion were passing over the bridge, they with their hands and ropes assisted the other half, who were swimming ; and the whole army thus crossing the stream, reached the walls. The besieged were not however alarmed.

By the help of some old ruins, and by demolishing the walls of some of the houses, the French penetrated into that end of the town which is again divided by the river, and at the spot where the bridge had been broken, a fresh obstacle was presented to the conqueror. But fortune was on their side, the besieged had not destroyed the piles, and the beams yet remained near the banks ; the bridge was therefore restored in a few hours ; but the Bourbonists now finding their hopes at an end, as well as their means of defence, made their escape with only a small loss, proud of their defence and the number of deaths they had occasioned the enemy. The French vented their rage on the unfortunate townspeople, and finding a large quantity of wine in the cellars, drank until they were intoxicated, when, excited to madness, the massacre, pillage, and license, was prolonged throughout the night. The rain fell in torrents, and the town was still burning when the sun rose upon a heap of corpses, ashes, and mire, where there had once been houses and churches.

## CHAPTER III.

THE FALL OF THE REPUBLIC AFTER THE RETREAT OF THE  
FRENCH ARMY.

HARDLY had the French army crossed the frontier, when the Republican Government proclaimed their newly acquired independence, and abolishing the taxes for the war, diminishing former imposts, and enumerating the political advantages in prospect, they enjoined and entreated the people to cease from afflicting the country by internal strife, to return to peaceful labours, and to enjoy the blessings destined for them by Heaven. Fearing, however, that the result of this proclamation might not fully answer their expectations, they prepared with all diligence for the exigencies of war. The troops which had been hitherto divided into several columns were collected in legions; fresh soldiers were levied by conscription; General Roccaromana was commanded to raise a regiment of cavalry; the number of troops under Schipani was increased, and two fresh legions were formed, the command being given to Generals Spano and Wirtz. Spano was a Calabrese, who had long served, though in the lowest ranks of the army; and Wirtz, a Swiss who had formerly been a colonel in the pay of the king; but upon Ferdinand's departure, absolved from his oaths and obligations, he had enrolled himself among the friends of liberty under the banners of the Republic. The Directory next appointed Gabriel Manthonè commander-in-chief of the army; the same who had been first one of the Provisional Government, and afterwards minister of war: he was an experienced officer and skilful duellist, with a warm heart, courageous temper, and possessed of natural eloquence, but was not remarkable for intellectual endowments. When proposing in the legislative council a decree, by which all mothers who had lost their sons in the cause

of freedom, should be assigned a large pension with other honours, he concluded his speech in these words: " Citizen legislators, I trust that *my* mother may likewise have to demand of you the fulfilment of this generous decree." He indeed fell a sacrifice in the cause of freedom, but unhappily his mother received only tears of compassion, and none of the rewards assigned her by the laws.

Another troop was formed under the name of the Legion Calabria, who, without a uniform or common quarters, or even being organized into a regiment, joined only when called out, and fought under a black banner with the inscription, " To conquer, revenge, and die." They were three thousand men, most of them Calabrese, personally hostile to Cardinal Ruffo, by whom they had been conquered and forced to fly their country; so that they bore with them the remembrance of past injuries and wounds, to stimulate them to vengeance. As a review of the republican army was proposed, the troops were drawn up several lines deep, along the magnificent Strada di Toledo, and around the tree of liberty in the Piazza Nazionale, where, amidst a vast concourse of spectators, the members of the Government, the generals, and the commander-in-chief, Manthonè arrived, followed by the artillery and the royal standards which had been captured in the engagements at Castellamare and Salerno; a number of portraits of the royal family were also borne along, which the unsparing police had seized in the city and provinces, as proofs of guilt. The procession was closed by a convoy of two files of prisoners, soldiers and royalists, who believing they were in that day and in that place to suffer death as a punishment and example, walked in fear and trembling. Beside the tree a pile was burning intended to consume the standards and effigies.

The commander-in-chief addressed the army, while a member of the Government addressed the people; the royal effigies were then ordered to the flames; but the republicans snatching them from the hands of the executioner, dragged them in the mire, and tearing them to rags, scattered them to the winds. The minister of finance next exhibited a large bundle of bank paper, to the value of 1,600,000 ducats, which, amidst the great poverty of the State, had been redeemed in a few short months by the economy

of the republican government, and had by as much diminished the national debt ; as the best means of getting rid of them, these papers were likewise thrown upon that pile, prepared to revenge the wrongs of the country, and were there consumed. Lastly, the prisoners were called before the tree, and the minister of justice read the decree of the Directory, in which they were said to have been misled rather than guilty, and therefore those who had been soldiers were offered permission to enter the service of the Republic, while the Bourbonists were pardoned and set at liberty. Their chains were then struck off, and sudden joy succeeding despair, they ran almost frantic with delight among the people, shouting the praises of the Republic, and their wishes for its prosperity ; while, to increase their happiness, the bystanders relieved their poverty, and exhorted them to undeceive their misguided fellow-citizens respecting the power and magnanimity of the Government. Thus ended the ceremony ; but the feastings continued the greater part of the day, the people dancing round the tree, singing hymns in praise of liberty, and concluding marriages and other contracts, as in a consecrated temple.

These demonstrations of joy were but short-lived ; for the following day a large fleet of the enemy entered the bay, and as they were suspected of an intention to attack the city by exciting tumults among the populace, the Government issued orders to arm the few vessels belonging to the Republic, repair the port batteries, and construct new as speedily as possible. No sooner was the danger and these orders known than the citizens volunteered their assistance ; and even ladies, distinguished for noble birth and refined manners, were seen labouring with hands unaccustomed to such hard work, carrying stones and earth for many days : the port being thus secured, the enemy turned in the direction of the islands of Procida and Ischia, where they landed their soldiers, killed or captured the officials or adherents of the Republic, and re-established the royal government, appointing magistrates to punish the rebels. Cruel condemnations followed, and it was then that the name of the judge Speciale was first mentioned, which afterwards acquired a terrific notoriety.

The inhabitants of the islands arrived as fugitives in the metropolis, begging for aid ; and the republican government, with more

generosity than prudence, determined with a few ships and a small body of soldiers, to attack an enemy of much greater numerical force. Admiral Caracciolo was then in Naples, having returned thither with the permission of the King of Sicily : distinguished for his success in naval engagements, and for his patriotism, he held the supreme command of the Neapolitan navy, and was now ordered to recover Procida and Ischia. The republicans, though only three against ten, left the port of Naples in full spirit for the enterprise; and fighting valiantly throughout the whole day, caused much loss and damage to the enemy, and suffered no less themselves. They might have effected more, but as they were on the point of landing at Procida, the wind, which had been all along adverse, blew a storm towards evening, and obliged the little vessels of the Republic to return into port, neither as conquerors nor conquered ; though highly commended for the courage and skill they had displayed.

Meantime the royalist party had been secretly at work in Naples, and little disheartened by the rejoicings and manifestations in favour of their opponents, were concerting alarming plots against the Republic. A vender of crystal had enlisted a numerous body of Lazzaroni on the royalist side, who, indifferent to the success of either party, swore to support the throne, bribed by a promise of rewards and booty. Another leader called Tanfano, headed a numerous band of conspirators, and laid a scheme with the king and queen of Sicily, with Cardinal Ruffo, and with other chiefs of the royalist bands, to carry on a civil war within the country ; money was given him to distribute among his followers, and he collected arms to raise a disturbance ; he then prepared his plan of action, and assigned each conspirator the part he was to play. The queen when writing of this man called him a faithful servant and subject, a friend dear to her and to the throne. The reader must be here reminded that the men on whom the sovereigns of Sicily lavished words of friendship and affection, were of the lowest description, who had sprung from the very dregs of the populace, and who were sullied by crimes or their consequent punishment : Fra Diavolo, Mammone, Pronio, Sciarpa, and Guarriiglia. But the most formidable of all the conspiracies was that of Baker. He was a Swiss who had long been resident in Naples, and was related to

families devoted to the Bourbon cause, to which he was also attached by motives of private ambition. He contrived to communicate by secret messages with the enemy's ships, and it was agreed that on a feast-day, when the people were plunged in careless amusement, the Sicilian and English fleet was to throw shells into Naples, and thus induce the soldiers to hurry back to the castles and port batteries, and leave the city defenceless ; when it would be easy to excite a tumult, everything being already prepared, and thus the success of the undertaking would be secured. In the midst of the turmoil they prepared to put to death all who were rebels to the king, to burn their houses, and thus, with the power in their hands, obtain the means of gratifying their revenge.

Everything being so far arranged, the conspirators went about the city marking the doors and walls of the houses in various ways, to signify who were to be spared and who destroyed, according as had been iniquitously determined in their meeting ; but as persons belonging to either party frequently resided under the same roof, or were of the same family, papers were secretly distributed, the owner of which was to be secure from attack. One of these papers was presented by Captain Baker, the brother of the chief conspirator, to one Luigia Sanfelice, a young woman to whom he was attached, and when giving her the paper, he explained its purpose, and thus betrayed the impending danger. This act was the more generous on his part, as the woman he loved did not return his affection ; she accepted the paper with thanks, though not for herself, but to bestow it on another, an officer in the army, an ardent partisan of the Republic, and who she could have no doubt would be one of the victims on the conspirators' list. This young man, of the name of Ferri, revealed all he had learnt from her of the plot to the Government, showed the paper, and gave the names of those concerned in the discovery, proud that he and the woman he loved should thus be the means of saving their country. Luigia Sanfelice was called up for examination, and questioned respecting the facts ; ashamed of the discovery of the feelings which had prompted her to this act, and of having denounced the plot, as well as of the information she had given, and dreading the punishment which might possibly ensue, she, however, hoped by an ingenuous confession to plead for pity with her judges ; she, therefore, re-

vealed all she knew, except the name of him who had given her the paper, protesting with masculine determination rather to die than prove herself so ungrateful as to injure the kind friend who had wished to save her life. What she had already told, however, with the handwriting and marks on the paper, was sufficient to lead to the discovery of the leaders, who were thrown into prison, their arms and the rest of their papers seized, and thus the clue to the whole conspiracy was obtained, and the plot crushed: Luigia Sanfelice was dreading public condemnation, when she heard herself called the saviour of the Republic, and the mother of her country.

When the danger the city had incurred was known, the alarm was increased by discovering marks or signs upon the doors of houses and on walls, which, whether real or accidental, were all supposed to signify the massacre of those within. Numbers were found on the public buildings, on the National Bank, and on the Episcopal Palace. The archbishop of that time, Cardinal Zurlo, was an old rival of Cardinal Ruffo, and envious of the success, while afraid of the power of his enemy, he pointed to him as the chief cause of the misfortunes of the State, declaring, that instead of being a pillar of religion and of the Church, as he vaunted himself in his Pastoral Letters, he was rather a calamity and a disgrace to both; he therefore passed an anathema upon him; while Cardinal Ruffo in his turn excommunicated Cardinal Zurlo, calling him an enemy of God, the Church, the pope, and the king. The clergy were divided in opinions and sentiments; but while the religious and virtuous adhered to Zurlo, all the evil-disposed were on the side of Ruffo.

But by the abuse of temporal weapons, public opinion had already lost its power, and all the provinces submitted to the king; the metropolis, and a small circuit around, alone obeyed the existing government. Ettore Caraffa, with a little band of republicans, after several conflicts outside of Pescara, having amply provisioned that fortress, retired within its walls; the French remained passive in Sant' Elmo, Capua, and Gaeta; the troops of the Republic were few; the bands of the Holy Faith countless; for besides loyalty to the king, they were influenced by motives of ambition, the advantages to be gained on the winning side, the impunity granted to past crimes, and the pardon to all deserters from the republican

party. About a thousand Turks and Russians landed at Tàranto, led by Marshal Count Micheroux, and having joined Cardinal Ruffo, placed themselves under his orders. They seized and imposed a fine on the city of Foggia, and afterwards on Ariano and Avellino, and showed themselves before the little town of Cardinale, and at Nola. Meantime Pronio, who on the confines of the Abruzzi had enrolled some of the fugitives from Rome and Arezzo, scoured the country until within sight of Capua; Salerno, Cava, and the cities lately conquered by the French, were restored by Sciarpa to their allegiance to the king, and he then, with his main force, took up his quarters at Nocera. Fra Diavolo and Mammone united their bands in the districts of Sessa and Teano, and waited the word of command to proceed. The Republic, reduced to a weak condition, was at once therefore attacked by Neapolitans, Sicilians, English, Romans, Tuscans, Russians, Portuguese, Dalmatians, and Turks, while hostile and powerful fleets were cruising in the Mediterranean. The French fleet consisted of twenty-five men of war, the Spanish seventy, the English forty-seven in three divisions, the Russian four, the Portuguese five, the Turks three, the Sicilians two; besides frigates, cutters, and brigs innumerable, sailing under the above-mentioned flags. Thus the French and Spaniards together only formed a combined fleet of seventy vessels, their adversaries upwards of ninety; while in Naples they were still expecting the arrival of the fleet of France and Spain, which had been promised by the French Directory.

In order to enable the friendly fleet to enter the port securely, and be of use to the Republic, it was necessary to make a diversion, or repulse the Bourbonist troops which were arriving in numbers to press the siege of the city. A council of war was held; General Mætera, a Neapolitan who had fled to France in 1795, had returned to his country a chef-de-bataillon, and had since been appointed a general of the Republic, a brave officer, but somewhat lax in his morals, and easy in his conscience, proposed to collect our soldiers, who had been sent out in detachments, into one army, and to increase their numbers by the thousand French, who had been left to garrison the fortresses, and who had been promised to him by their leader Megèan, on condition of paying as their price the sum of half a million of ducats. The squadrons of the Republic being thus strong



in numbers and skill, he offered to lead them to attack and destroy the largest band of Cardinal Ruffo ; if fortune should prove propitious to throw the Cardinal into prison, and then turn to the attack of the bands of Pronio, Sciarpa, and Mammone, whom he expected would lay down their arms at the first rumour of his achievements, before coming to blows. He further proposed that the partisans of the Republic should shut themselves up in the castles, and guard them, while the city should be abandoned to the strife of factions, until the republican army, having conquered the country round, should return in triumph to punish the rebels. The poverty of the treasury was no obstacle to his scheme, "For," the General declared, "if the government will make me master of the lives and property of twelve wealthy persons, whom I shall point out by name, I promise within two days to place in the treasury the half million rapaciously demanded by Megèan, besides another three hundred thousand ducats for the expenses of the war. Citizens of the Directory," he concluded, "citizen ministers and generals, the deaths of some few individuals, considerable loss in property, and many acts of political necessity, which weak minds call injustice, will accompany or be the consequence of my scheme, but the Republic will conquer ; whereas, should the Republic fall, all will alike suffer from a series of acts of injustice, and from the losses and numberless deaths which must ensue."

This speech shocked his humane audience ; to abandon the city, families, and citizens to the violence and rapine of the Bourbonists, purposely to excite crimes in order afterwards to punish them, and without regard to law or justice to exact money by torture from innocent persons, were crimes of such enormity, that they were as revolting to the feelings as to the upright judgment of the men who now ruled the State, and pointed to a line of conduct opposed to all their previous professions. They were therefore unanimous in supporting the motion of the minister Manthonè, who, inexperienced in revolutions, and measuring the courage of his party by his own generous and noble spirit, declared that ten republicans were able to cope with a thousand of the enemy, and that they did not want the assistance of the French, since Schiapani could be opposed to Sciarpa, Bassetti to Mammone and Fra Diavolo, Spanò to De Cesare, and he himself to Ruffo ; while

General Wirtz could remain in the city, with part of the regular troops, the whole of the militia, and the Calabrese legion might be held in reserve. It was therefore resolved that Spanò and Schipani should start the following day.

Schipani reached La Cava, and encamped there, while Spanò, after having been routed in the woods and defiles of Monteforte and Cardinale, returned to the city with diminished numbers and in disordered flight, a sight and example fatal to the cause. A few days later Schipani was attacked on the flanks of his little army, which was feebly supported, and being without a rear-guard, and having no hope of succour, he encamped on the bank of the Sarno. General Bassetti, who about that time left the city, kept the road clear of enemies as far as Capua. Along with the troops of General Manthonè in Naples, were others raised irregularly by conscription, all of whom looked forward to the arrival of the legion of cavalry which General Roccaromana was levying in the name, and at the expense of the Republic. But these hopes vanished and were converted into bitter disappointment, when the duke, perceiving the approaching fall of the Republic, offered himself with his troops to Cardinal Ruffo, and fought on the side of the Bourbonists until the termination of the war.

The city was in a deplorable condition; provisions were scarce, the treasury empty, and even the wounded were without necessary assistance. But two ladies, formerly known as the Duchesses of Cassano and Popoli, but now bearing the more honourable title of mothers of their country, went from house to house collecting clothes, food, and money for the soldiers and the poor languishing in the hospitals; their words and example had the desired effect, they were joined by other benevolent ladies, and the destitution was relieved. But the State was declining. Cardinal Ruffo took up his quarters at Nola, and his myrmidons were encamped as far as Sebeto, while the followers of Fra Diavolo and Sciarpa made their appearance at Capodichina. It was impossible to count them, for, composed of vagrants and volunteers, they passed from one troop to another, roaming over the country in a disorderly manner. The numbers besieging the city appeared not less than forty thousand. Schipani was attacked and conquered on the Sarno, and proceeded to Granatello, a little fort near Portici. Bassetti returned defeated and wounded

to Naples ; Manthonè, with three thousand soldiers, had hardly reached Barra, when, after a short conflict, overcome by superior numbers who fired at him from the roofs of the houses, he had to retreat with the loss of many of his men. The people were beginning to mutiny within the city, when messengers from Castellamare brought news that the arsenal had been treacherously set on fire, but it was afterwards proved that although the crime had been attempted, the flames had instantly been extinguished by the zeal of the guards, assisted by the wind, which blew from a favourable quarter. During the night seditious cries were heard in the city, and alarming reports were circulated of preparations for massacre and destruction.

The Government issued a proclamation, ordering that at the first discharge of cannon from Castel-Nuovo, the soldiers were to retire to their quarters, the militia to hasten to their posts, the patriotic leaders to enter the castles, and the citizens their houses ; that at the second discharge, numerous patrols were to go the rounds of the city, to enforce obedience to these orders, and, at the third, the patrols were to fire at the contumacious ; their having being met with in the street was to furnish sufficient proof of their guilt, and the safety of the Republic was considered reason enough to justify the act. Three more discharges from the cannon were to follow, but instead of being fired at long intervals as the first, they were to succeed one another rapidly as an announcement that all were at liberty to return to their several employments. The next day these orders were executed, and the effect answered the expectation of the Government. The alarm was great, the streets were deserted ; while gloom spread over the face of the city, which looked like a vast empty tomb.

That same day, the 11th June, an attack was made by Russian and Sicilian troops of the line, on the fort of Granatello, which was guarded by Schipani's soldiers ; who were little less than a thousand men, supported by gunboats, the fire from which was directed by Admiral Caracciolo with surprising boldness and skill. Though the general was wounded, and his numbers diminished, he yet maintained his position, and the hostile army encamped before the fort. Matters remained thus during the night, in which both parties were preparing for attack and defence. General Schipani having deter-

mined to retire within the city, sent at daybreak a numerous detachment of Dalmatians to the rear of the Bourbonists, who, if surprised and routed, he hoped would afford him an opportunity to leave his encampment, attack and drive them back as far as the parish of Portici, and secure for himself a safe retreat upon Naples. But suddenly the Dalmatians, either seized with a panic, or seduced by the enemy during the *mêlée*, deserted their standard, joined the Russians, and surrounded the little band of Republicans who had been thus betrayed; many were killed or wounded on both sides, and the remainder of Schipani's troops taken prisoners.

But the Cardinal was slowly advancing, in order by the sight of so wealthy a city, still further to excite the appetite for plunder in his troops, to whom he had promised license and pillage; and also to await the feast-day of St. Anthony, which was near, as the miracles of the blood, which had been practised in favour of Championnet, Maedonald, and the Neapolitan Directory, had somewhat weakened the faith of the populace in St. Januarius, and the Cardinal therefore found it necessary to appeal to their superstition through another saint. On the first dawn of the 13th June, an altar was raised in the camp, and mass was celebrated. After invoking St. Anthony, the patron saint of the day, all the hordes forming the army of the Holy Faith were ordered to advance against the city; and the Cardinal himself, on horseback, decorated with his purple, and sword in hand, in the centre of the largest detachment of his troops, prepared to cross the little stream of the Sebeto, over the bridge of the Maddalena. The Republicans, perceiving his intention, advanced to the encounter; three discharges of cannon from Castel-Nuovo having first given the signal to clear the streets of the city, as a precaution against internal foes.

General Bassetti, with a handful of soldiers, hastened to the height of Capodiehina, more as a menace to the right wing of the immense multitudes who were approaching through the fertile gardens of the Barra, than with any intention of attacking them. General Wirtz, with as many as he could collect, advanced to the bridge, planted a large battery of cannon there, and lined the right bank of the river with soldiers and artillery; the castles of the city remained closed, with their bridges raised. The Legion Calabro, formed in two divisions, held the lesser coast batteries of

Vigliena close to the Granili; and parties patrolled the city to prevent plots within, and to be employed, if needed, as a last and desperate resource of falling liberty. The old invalided partisans of the Republic guarded the castles, the young and robust accompanied the soldiers, or formed in irregular companies, fought as volunteers, or single-handed, wherever their zeal called them, or as they were thrown by chance. The Russians attacked Vigliena, but from the stout resistance they encountered, were obliged to retreat, and batter the walls by a continuous discharge of cannon; this attempt having succeeded, the Russians, Turks, and Bourbonists rushed into the fort, and fought hand to hand; but, impeded and pressed on by their own numbers, they suffered from the blows of friends as well as foes. Many of the Calabrese legionaries were slain, the rest who were wounded, appeared indifferent to life; among them was the priest Toscani of Cosenza, the head of the garrison, who dragging himself along with difficulty, as he had been stabbed in several places, approached the powder magazine, and invoking God and liberty, set fire to the powder, which instantaneously blew up with a terrible explosion and noise, and as many as were within the walls perished, buried under the ruins, or thrown into the air, or struck by falling stones, foes and friends thus horribly mingled in one common death. The Cardinal quailed before this proof of desperate courage, while it emboldened the republicans, who swore to imitate so great an example.

Under such auspices Wirtz reached the bridge, Bassetti the hill, and Admiral Caracciolo came out of the port with armed launches: the Cardinal advanced with his followers, and the fight recommencing, many fell on both sides; the victory appeared doubtful, immense numbers crowding one bank, while the other was defended by indefatigable courage and greater skill. Among the volunteers and irregular troops, was the advocate Luigi Serio, a learned and eloquent man, who had once (as I have mentioned in a preceding book) been the guide and friend of the Emperor Joseph II.; but opposed to the Bourbon king after his tyrannical conduct, was now resolved rather to die than submit to servitude. He had three nephews residing with him, timid and effeminate youths, to whom he said, when they heard the firing of the troops in retreat, "Let us go out and fight the enemy:" they reminded him of his

age, that he was nearly blind, that they were all unaccustomed to fight, besides being unprovided with arms, and they entreated him not to expose himself and his family, to certain and useless destruction ; but their uncle replied : “ The minister of war has sent me four muskets, and two hundred charges of powder. It will be easy to take aim, when close to the enemy ; do you follow me ; if we do not fear death, we shall at least taste the sweets of vengeance before we die.” They all obeyed, and the old man prevented by his dauntless nature and his misfortune from perceiving the danger, advanced against the enemy, using both his weapon and his voice ; he fell upon the banks of the Sebeto, leaving a name which he had rendered honourable in life by the effusions of his muse, and in his death by his blood. Sufficient search was not made for his body, which was never found, and therefore remained without a tomb.

The day was declining, but victory on the bank of the little stream was yet undecided, when General Wirtz was struck to the ground by a shell, leaving his men without a leader, an incident which damped the courage of the whole army. On seeing him carried off the field, mortally wounded, the troops first wavered then, seized with panic, fled in confusion into the city. The Bourbonists followed, joined by the Lazzaroni, who, regardless of the prohibitions of an expiring authority, left their houses, and attacked the troops of Bassetti ; but Bassetti learning the death of Wirtz, the loss of the bridge, and that the army had fled, opened a way for himself amidst the pressure of the people, and retired into Castel-Nuovo. Hither the five composing the Directory, the ministers, and several of the legislative senate had repaired, and were carrying on the government, while the rest of the officials or partisans of the Republic had dispersed wherever they thought themselves safest, to the castles, to the houses, or to places of concealment ; while some remained in the streets, formed into armed bands. Many who sought refuge in Sant’ Elmo were harshly repulsed by Megèan, and ranged themselves beneath the walls, or in the large monastery of San Martino. Caracciolo continued the fight from the sea during many nights until the enemy retreated from the shore, when he returned into port. Whilst the battle was still raging, the two brothers Baker, and three other prisoners, who had already been

condemned by the revolutionary tribunals, were privately shot under an arcade of the staircase of Castel-Nuovo ; this execution was an act of cruelty, as the last hour of the government had struck, and as it was neither required for the purpose of security nor for example. Fortunately there was no time to prosecute the trials of the other conspirators who had joined Baker. In the city, meantime, unprotected as it was by walls or fortifications, the republicans fled, and being already full of their enemies, cries of long live the king resounded ; the soldiers, however, and as many of the army of the Holy Faith as could be restrained, were not permitted to enter, and were detained by the Cardinal, not from any feeling of compassion toward his native place, but lest the darkness should favour plots which they supposed possible the enemy might have prepared against them. Joyful shouts and illuminations, intended to flatter the rising power, and prudent rather than sincere, celebrated the king's restoration ; but meantime a discharge of cannon from the castles, and a desperate sally of the republicans, interrupted the festivities, and many who were participating in them were slain. The night of the 13th June 1799 was dark indeed for both parties.

On the following morning, the fort of the Carmine was attacked and taken by the Russians ; both the republicans and their soldiers were killed, and, as the Bourbon standard was hoisted on the tower, the guns of the fort were now turned against Castel-Nuovo and the trenches of the mole, while, at the same time, volleys were fired as a sign of triumph. The Cardinal took up his quarters at Granili, and encamped the troops of the line belonging to the Holy Faith on an elevation commanding the city, and the multitude claimed the promised spoil of Naples ; but I shall postpone to another chapter the description of the pillage, atrocities, and murders which followed. On their side, the republicans laboured that first day to fortify those fronts of Castel-Nuovo which were exposed to attack, and to barricade some of the streets of the city, and thus formed a little republic among themselves, composed of the castles Nuovo, dell' Uovo, and Sant' Elmo, the palace, the stronghold of Pizzofalcone, and the last inhabited end of the Chiaja. The batteries continued to play during the subsequent days ; but some of the republican party deserting to the king, the commander of

the castle of Baia invited the Sicilians to take possession of it, and two officers who had escaped from Castel-Nuovo, were seen assisting to throw up trenches against the very fort they had sworn to defend. Delinquents of this class were, however, few and obscure, and I refrain from mentioning their names, because they were more their own enemies than the Republic's, and because amidst the changes of government which have since occurred, great and successful treason has so entirely thrown lesser offences into the shade. Faith, oaths, the duties of the citizen, are now used as a game of skill, and encouraged as such by despots who turn to their advantage all the perfidy produced by a corrupt state of society ; and thus, were we to examine the growth of political vice or political virtue since 1799 to this day, the result would prove disgraceful to the Neapolitan people, so rapidly have public morals degenerated from month to month.

The little fort of Castellamare, though attacked by batteries on land, and by Sicilian and English ships from the sea, refused to yield, until conditions were granted, by which the garrison were permitted to go free to France, carrying with them as much of their moveable property as they pleased, and leaving their possessions and families within the kingdom secure from molestation. The English Vice-Admiral Foote signed this treaty for the king, upon which the garrison were conveyed, in ships which were in readiness, to Marseilles. Serious risks were incurred during the siege of the city, by the blunders of the Bourbonists as well as of their enemies, for one of the red-hot balls fired from the castle of the Carmine against Castel-Nuovo, fell on a small chamber in the curtain, and ignited some wood, which being dry, and covered with oil, burnt rapidly. This occurred close to the bastion of the shore, in the middle of which was a magazine full of powder and rockets. As long as the flames ascended directly upwards, the fire could not be communicated below by sparks or heat, but such was the alarm and excitement, that the garrison threatened to force open the gates of the castle and escape, and all who tried to soothe their excited imaginations were either supposed to be indifferent to their own lives, or so inhuman as to be willing to sacrifice those of their men. The act of Toscana at Vigliena, which up to that time had been cited as an example of heroism, was now talked of as an instance of



savage ferocity. All therefore, whether ready to hear reason or the reverse, put their hand to the work, eager to prevent the fire reaching the powder magazine ; and although at some distance from the well, they contrived, by a chain of men to keep up a continuous jet of water, until the flames were extinguished. But in the midst of the confusion, the enemy seeing the smoke from the castle, and observing the fire from the cannon slackened, approached by the *Via del Porto*, and throwing grenades at the gate of the rocks set it on fire ; having effected an opening into the castle, they would have entered had their courage or skill been greater ; but the besieged hastened to remedy the disaster and barricaded the ingress.

That night the republicans resolved to take advantage of the darkness, to make a sally from the castles of the *Uovo* and *Nuovo* by *San Martino*, and destroy the battery of cannon raised on the *Chiaja*. The French no longer afforded them assistance, for *Megèan* had already begun to negotiate with the Cardinal for the price of his treachery, and the republicans, suspecting his conduct, concealed from him their intended movements and hopes. As midnight struck (the hour fixed for the sally) they started in three divisions, and unsparingly put to death all the soldiers of the *Holy Faith* they fell in with ; for had they made any prisoners they would have endangered their secret, and risked the lives of their little band. They proceeded with so much caution, that they were mistaken by their own watches for the enemy, and attacked by them ; but the mistake was soon discovered, and all joined in lamenting the loss of one of their comrades, swearing to revenge his death upon the enemy. Continuing on their way, they surprised and killed those set to guard the battery, and after spiking their cannon and burning the carriages, returned uninjured to the fortress planning other sallies, and resolved only to die sword in hand. The noise of their feet, and the cries and shouts announcing the slaughter of the *Bourbonists*, reached the Russian camp, the camps of the *Holy Faith*, and the quarters of the Cardinal ; uncertain whence the sound proceeded, they beat to arms, and kept the troops prepared until daybreak, when the pusillanimous Cardinal proposed to withdraw them to a distance of several miles.

He was troubled by reflections of a still more serious nature. No one else was aware that the French and Spanish fleet were

upon the Mediterranean sea ; and although their enemy had still larger fleets cruising there, it was doubtful whether they would fall in with one another, and if they met who would be the victor. Many of the cities still sighed after the Republic, and even several of the royalist cities had been irritated by the cruelties perpetrated by the followers of the Holy Faith. The promise of rewards had not yet been all fulfilled, and the myrmidons of the Cardinal were fast diminishing in numbers, for many now satiated with plunder were desirous of enjoying their lives in idleness and security. He had besides a brave and desperate foe facing him, and the Cardinal feared for his own personal safety and that of his hostages (one of whom was his own brother) detained in Castel-Nuovo. In the anxious watches of that night he decided to send envoys to the Directory to treat for peace, and when daylight returned, after making a more exact computation of those killed, and the loss occasioned by the late sally, with the flight and the panic in his camp, he listened to the advice of the leaders of the troops and the royalist magistrates, who were all inclined for peace ; he therefore sent a message to Megèan with proposals for an accommodation, on such terms as might be expected under the circumstances, befitting the royal dignity, and a conquered people. The envoys of Ruffo, accompanied by a messenger from Megèan, referred the proposals to the Republican Directory.

There the uneasiness was still greater, and with more reason, but the offer of peace allayed their fears ; some attributing it to desertions or mutiny in the camps of the Holy Faith, others to the French victories in Italy, and the greater number to the approach of the conquering fleet of France and Spain. The Directory accordingly replied, that it was contrary to the rules of a free government to consent to, or reject propositions without a previous consultation, and that they would therefore take the matter into consideration. Meantime an armistice of three days was granted at the request of Megèan's deputy ; but before the departure of the envoys, the minister Manthoné informed the Bourbonists, that if the Cardinal could not keep his followers under restraint during the truce, he would put a stop to their cruelty, rapine, and the iniquitous proposal of sacking the city, by attacking them from the fort. Left to themselves, the Directory consulted how to act, and

beginning to doubt the supposed weakness of the enemy, inclined to accept terms ; Manthonè alone among them all, advocated extreme though generous measures, more consonant with his own fearless nature than suited to the actual condition of the Republic. Oronzo Massa, a general of artillery, was summoned to attend the council, and being asked his opinion as to the state of the castle, he answered honestly, " We only continue masters of these walls because our enemies are composed of raw soldiers, and an undisciplined mob, with a priest at their head. The sea, the port, the docks are in the hands of the enemy ; the gate near the port has been burnt, and the entrance there impossible to prevent ; the palace cannot be defended by artillery ; the curtain on the side of the enemy is in ruins ; in short, if matters were reversed, and I were ordered to attack the castle, I could take it in two hours." The president then asked him, if he would accept peace ? to which he replied, " I would accept it, on conditions honourable to the Government, and which would guarantee the security of the State."

The time allowed for the truce was drawing near its close, and the French and Spanish fleet was not yet in sight ; the republican forces were diminishing by desertions, and the resolution of the Government wavered. On the second night the battery on the Chiaja which had been destroyed, was reconstructed, and a new one erected on the Via del Porto ; but upon complaints and menaces from the Directory the works were suspended, and the Cardinal assured them, that should the hoped-for peace not be concluded the following day, he would give orders for the demolition of the embankments recently thrown up, which were not by his command, but were to be attributed to the zeal of his soldiers. The republicans met again in council, and examined the grounds of their hope to prolong the siege until the arrival of foreign aid, to conquer in the open field, or to force a way through the enemy and join the French in Capua ; finding all these propositions untenable, perceiving death near, and victory impossible, and anxious to preserve their own lives and those of thousands more, for a time more propitious for the Republic, they drew up conditions of peace, and selected for their negotiator General Massa, who had advocated pacific views in the Congress. Oronzo Massa was of a noble family, and had in his youth entered the army as an artillery

officer, but had retired from the service in the year 1795, when the Government became tyrannical; he had since offered himself as a soldier under the Republic, and had been promoted to the rank of general. He was eloquent, magnanimous, and brave. It was with some unwillingness he accepted the charge now imposed on him, and happening to meet me in the courtyard of the fort as he was leaving the house occupied by the Directory, and informing me on what mission he was sent, he added, "The conditions proposed by the Directory are moderate, but the enemy, proud of the ease with which he has been able to obtain them, will not concede life or liberty to the chiefs of the Republic; I am convinced that at least twenty of the citizens will be required to sacrifice themselves for the safety of the rest, but it will be an honour to the Directory, and to their representative, if we sign a treaty by which we shall preserve many lives at the price of our own."

The negotiators met in the house occupied by the Cardinal, and as the Directory refused to trust King Ferdinand and his Lieutenant alone, it became necessary to add the leaders of the Muscovite and Turkish forces, the admiral of the English fleet, and the French Commander Megdan. The demands of the republicans appeared too bold to the Cardinal, but the pride of the purple gave way before the arguments of General Massa, who spoke confidently though without insolence, while declaring his resolution, "to treat the hostages according to ancient usage, demolish and burn the houses in the city, and repeat the heroic act committed at Vigliena in every castle and building." The Cardinal, whispering to those around him that he would incur the reproaches of the king if his Majesty should find the city of Naples in ruins, proposed to Massa to efface from the treaty all suggestions or words derogatory to the royal dignity, in which case he would condescend to acquiesce in the terms offered. General Massa insisting everything should continue in the present form, peace was finally concluded on the following conditions:—

1. The castles Nuovo and Dell' Uovo, with their arms and ammunition, shall be delivered to the commissaries of his Majesty the King of the Two Sicilies, and of his allies, England, Russia, and the Ottoman Porte.

2. The republican garrisons in both castles shall march out

with the honours of war, and shall be respected and guaranteed in their persons and property, moveable and immoveable.

3. They may choose whether to embark upon neutral vessels for Toulon, or to remain in the kingdom, secure from all molestation for themselves or their families. The representatives of the king shall provide the means of transport.

4. These conditions and these terms shall include the persons of both sexes in the fortress, and the republican prisoners captured by the royalist or allied troops in the course of the war, as well as all in the camp at San Martino.

5. The republican garrisons shall not quit the castles until the vessels by which they choose to depart are ready to sail.

6. The archbishop of Salerno, Count Micheroux, Count Dillon, and the Bishop of Avellino, shall remain as hostages in the fort of Sant' Elmo until certain tidings shall reach Naples of the arrival of the vessels at Toulon which shall have conveyed the republican garrisons. The royalist prisoners and the hostages at present detained in the fort shall be set at liberty after the signature of the present capitulation.

The names of Ruffo and Micheroux for the King of Naples, of Foote for England, of Baillie for Russia, and of . . . .<sup>1</sup> for the Porte followed, as well as those of Massa and Megèan on the part of the Republic.

During the succeeding days the ships were made ready. Ettore Caraffa, Count di Ruvo, was invited by a letter from the Cardinal to yield the fortresses of Civitella and Pescara on the same conditions as those accepted for the castles of Naples; and in an edict issued in his capacity of regent for the king, Ruffo proclaimed the war at an end, that factions or parties had ceased to exist, and that all the citizens alike were the subjects of the same prince, and friends and brothers; that the king was ready to pardon the crime of rebellion, and even in his paternal goodness to bid his enemies welcome; and further, ordering that persecutions, robberies, fighting, slaughter, and armaments were to cease within the kingdom. In spite of this proclamation, however, many who disliked or suspected the sincerity of the Bourbon government, asked and obtained

<sup>1</sup> The name is wanting in the original document. Carlo Botta gives Kerandry for Russia, and Bonieu for the Porte. (Note by the Editor of the Italian edition of Colletta.)

permission to embark likewise on board the ships which were now ready to sail. Of those who had belonged to the camp of San Martino not many remained in the city, the rest went to France, and the two garrisons, marching out of the castles with the stipulated honours, were divided between the few who preferred remaining and those who determined to depart. They now only waited for the wind, which it was hoped would in the course of the night prove propitious.

As day broke the sea was seen studded with white sails, and it was supposed that the French and Spanish fleet had arrived. The republicans who had already embarked broke forth in general lamentation and mutual reproaches, while the reputation of Manthonè rose, who had all along blamed the surrender of the castles, and had declared, however low their fortunes might be sunk, that it was an act of cowardice to yield themselves slaves to the enemy, and thus almost resign the liberty to die. But these ships proved to be the fleet of Nelson, which had arrived in the bay before sunrise. A wind had sprung up in the night favourable for France, but though the vessels were ready they did not set sail: on the following morning it was perceived that their position in the port was changed, and that they were steered beneath the cannon of the Castel dell' Uovo, their sails taken down, and their anchors dropped; guards were next placed over the passengers, and the ships converted into prisons; those who had just embarked were lost in wonder and alarm, and demanded an explanation from Admiral Nelson; but the conqueror of Aboukir was not ashamed to break the terms of the capitulation, while publishing an edict of King Ferdinand to the effect, that "kings do not treat with subjects; that the acts of the royal lieutenant had been an abuse of his powers, and were therefore null and void, and that it was the intention of Ferdinand to exercise his full and royal authority in dealing with the rebels." After this proclamation, royal commissaries went on board the ships to remove those who were marked as victims (eighty-four in number), and chaining them two and two, led them in broad day-light through the most populous parts of the city (a mournful and disgraceful spectacle), to the prisons of those very castles which they had just before garrisoned, and which were now occupied by the English. The rest of those who

had embarked, and who happened from the obscurity of their names and deeds, to escape exciting the desire of vengeance in the haughty conquerors, or because this desire was satisfied by their exile, continued their voyage to Marseilles. The Count di Ruvo, who had yielded the fortresses of Pescara and Civitella, and who, with several belonging to these garrisons, had arrived in Naples, with the intention of embarking, according to the conditions of surrender, was seized and barbarously conveyed to the dungeons. After these examples of inhumanity and injustice, the Bourbonists, the Lazzaroni, and the followers of the Holy Faith, already impatient for plunder, and indignant at the Cardinal's treaties and edicts of peace, were let loose, and returned to their former deeds of atrocity, which had only been suspended; while Ruffo, afraid of these ruffians, and of incurring the anger of the king, either supported them or remained passive.

Sant' Elmo, Capua, and Gaeta, surrendered one after the other on pretence of siege. The leader of the French legion, Megèan, commanding in Sant' Elmo, had some days previous bargained for the surrender of the castle, and a story is told, which has not been contradicted, that the niggardly offers of Ruffo not satisfying his rapacity, he turned for better terms to the English, but, rejected by them, he concluded with the first, and agreed—

To surrender the castle to his Sicilian Majesty and his allies; that the garrison should yield themselves prisoners, but be permitted to return to France on condition not to serve until the exchange of prisoners; that they were to leave the fort with the honours of war; and that the Neapolitan subjects were to be consigned to the allies, and not to the representatives of the king.

The following day the castle was yielded, and the garrison marched out, when the commissaries of the Bourbon police were permitted to inspect the French lines and select all who were Neapolitan subjects, whom they threw into chains, Megèan himself pointing out any who happened to escape the vigilance of these miscreants. Matera and Belpulsi, who, although natives of Sicily, were French officers, and wearing the uniform of France, were handed over to the police of Naples. The representatives of foreign potentates who were present, did not interfere, though the terms of the surrender by which these unfortunate men were placed

under the protection of the allies were thus broken. The affair was disgraceful to all concerned in it.

The fortresses of Capua and Gaeta soon afterwards surrendered on the same conditions as those granted at Sant' Elmo, but without a repetition of the infamous transaction just related, as either there were none of the ill-fated subjects of the King of the Two Sicilies among the French in these fortresses, or they were concealed. The French embarked, and the Bourbon standard now floated from all the castles. Cardinal Ruffo, as lieutenant of the king, governed the kingdom, and was obeyed by the cities, towns, and magistrates. Nothing remained of the Republic, but the memory of what it had been, to increase the sufferings of the friends of liberty, and the terror inspired by their tyrant.



## BOOK V.

### REIGN OF FERDINAND IV.

1799-1806.

#### CHAPTER I.

##### KING FERDINAND OF BOURBON RESUMES THE THRONE.

THE Republic was now fallen and the war of armies at an end, but a more barbarous and licentious war was carried on within the city. The conquerors eagerly pursued the conquered, and all who were not soldiers of the Holy Faith, or who did not belong to the low populace, wherever met, were murdered. The respectable citizens fled or concealed themselves; brawls produced by revenge or the thirst for gain, cries and lamentations were heard in the streets, which were either wholly deserted or filled with a turbulent rabble; the tribunals were closed, and the city was sunk in gloom and consternation, as if just taken by storm. After the fiercer passions had been satiated with blood, the pillage began, and on pretence that Jacobins lay concealed within the houses, the mob refused to quit any closed door; but hardly was it opened to them, than they sacked the place. Lazzaroni, servants, enemies, or treacherous friends, pointed out to the people those houses which, they said, belonged to rebels, and immediately there followed a scene of violence, robbery, or murder, as chance directed. Dragging their prisoners naked and bound through the streets, they stabbed them with their weapons, and insulted them by cowardly blows, and by throwing mire in their faces; persons of every age, and of both sexes, venerable magistrates, and noble-minded women who had lately been called the mothers of their country, were thus tortured; all the perils of the war, the insolence of the royalist gangs, the last hours of despair for the Republic, with the terror

suffered during the past days, appeared tolerable, compared with the present calamities. Cardinal Ruffo and other chiefs of the army of the Holy Faith, and even those who had influence with the populace, although they had been able to kindle their fury, had no power to enforce moderation after victory.

If, while describing these terrible disasters in Naples, I may be detected using the words or expressions of Cornelius Tacitus, as he represented the state and aspect of Rome after the murder of Vitellius, I confess that I have purposely invited this comparison ; because it is a proof that however times or places or political constitutions may differ, the nature of the populace never varies ; but, when unchained, it is ever an indomitable monster : and because I am desirous to remind my reader of the criminal conduct of all persons who remove the restraints of law and fear. More criminal than any were Cardinal Ruffo, and the English admiral, Lord Nelson. When the hero of Aboukir arrived from Egypt, he was captivated by the charms of Lady Hamilton. Her name was originally Emma Lyon, the daughter of a poor woman, and her father unknown, while she herself was in so low a condition of life, that whether born in Wales or England, is uncertain. She grew up extremely beautiful, but without friends, poor, and a vagrant ; her morals had been corrupted before she attained her sixteenth year, when her beauty attracted the notice of several artists, and Romney the painter represented her in various mythological and historical characters. Charles Greville, of the noble family of Warwick, fascinated with the beauty of the woman under these celestial or fabulous characters, fell in love with her ; and when sunk from a high position and fortune, sent Emma to his uncle, Sir William Hamilton in Naples, to ask for assistance in money, and for his leave to marry her : the uncle paid his nephew's debts, but refused his last request ; and, in 1791, married her himself under the name of Miss Harte ; when Emma Lyon, now the ambassadress, forgetting her origin and early career, assumed a new deportment, and sustained her present position, as if she had been accustomed to it from her birth.

When Lord Nelson became madly fascinated by her charms, the artful Queen of Naples (who until then had treated Lady Hamilton with the disdain of a queen towards an adventuress) changed her haughty tone, and seeing the use she might make of her at some

future time, attached her to herself by the strong fetters of vanity ; in the palace, in the theatre, and in public promenades, Emma was always beside the queen ; and often in the privacy of the palace, they dined and slept together. At the flight of the Bourbons from Naples, Lady Hamilton embarked on the same ship, and watched with anxious solicitude over the little Prince Albert who was ill, and who breathed his last in her arms. Their flight, their misfortunes, and a common asylum in Sicily, increased the attachment between these two women.

When Queen Caroline read in Palermo of the capitulation of the castles, and saw her hopes of vengeance vanishing, she entreated Emma, not as a queen, but as a friend, to go in pursuit of the admiral, who was sailing towards Naples ; to be the bearer of letters to him from herself and the king, and to persuade him to revoke the infamous treaty, which was an insult to all the princes of the earth, by making them stoop before rebellious subjects. After inspiring her with her own feelings, she added : "To you, my lady, we shall owe the dignity of the crown ; use all despatch, and may the winds and fortune befriend you : " she then dismissed her with embraces. Lady Hamilton set sail in a corvette, and reached Nelson just as he was entering the Bay of Naples. The royal letters contained entreaties, as well as arguments proving the offence which had been offered the dignity of thrones ; and expressed the happiness of the king and queen, that the fate of the monarchy now lay in the admiral's hands : after which the queen added, "I have time for no more ; Lady Hamilton, our deputy and friend, will explain our wishes, and convey to you the thanks sent by your Caroline." In this letter was enclosed a decree of the king, which ran thus :—

"We do not capitulate with rebellious subjects ; therefore the terms of the capitulation of the castles are annulled ; all the adherents of the so-called Republic are, though in different degrees, guilty of high treason. They are to be tried by a Junta of State, who are to punish the principal offenders with death, the lesser with imprisonment or exile, and all with confiscation. The king reserves the full explanation of his intentions, as well as the manner in which they are to be executed, to another decree."

The fatal beauty reached Nelson's vessel, who was delighted at

her unexpected visit ; but when she presented him with the papers, a sense of justice and good faith made him shrink with horror from the office imposed upon him, and which he refused to accept ; vanquished, however, by the allurements of Lady Hamilton, that man of untarnished honour, so distinguished in war, was not ashamed to yield himself a base instrument to perjury and tyranny. The ship which had brought Lady Hamilton returned, bearing the glad tidings to the queen, while Emma, the recompense of his shame, remained with Nelson ; they were together when he arrived in the port, and when, by publishing the king's decree, he accomplished that act of perfidy recorded in the preceding book.

The murder and pillage within the city meantime continued and even increased. In order to justify these deeds, a report was circulated that the republican party had determined to put thirty thousand of the populace to death, and had for this end prepared snares in which they were to be strangled : ruffians accordingly went from house to house pretending to seek for the instruments of a massacre, in the reality of which they did not believe ; but wherever by evil chance they found a hempen cord or rope, they rifled and burned the house, and murdered the inhabitants. As it was impossible for the dungeons and cells of the fortresses to contain all the prisoners, they were distributed among the vast and unhealthy chambers of the Granili, and in the Island of Procida, to be tried by the tribunals which had been established there for cases of high treason ; first of many, perished Generals Schipani and Spandò, next Pasquale Battistessa, a gentleman, the father of a numerous family, and a sincere but moderate liberal. He was hung on the gallows, and when hanging by the rope was thought dead, but when they were in the act of burying him, was discovered to be still alive ; the hangman accordingly, by the orders of the wretch Speciale, cut his throat in the church, and he was then thrown into the grave.

Admiral Caracciolo, betrayed by a servant, and arrested where he lay concealed in a remote asylum, was demanded from Cardinal Ruffo by Admiral Nelson ; it was supposed with the intention of saving a brave officer, who had so often been his comrade in the perils of war and by sea. Remembering the jealousy which the seamanship of Caracciolo had at times excited in Nelson, all

praised the magnanimity of the conqueror. But he, who was destined to more shame by his ill fortune or blind passion, only desired to have his rival in his hands in order to satiate his vengeance upon him ; and that very day he called a court-martial of Neapolitan officers in his own vessel, over whom he appointed Count Thurn to preside, as highest in rank. This court having first listened to the accusations, and then heard the accused, thought it just to grant his request, that the documents and proofs of his innocence should be examined ; but when Lord Nelson was informed of the fact, he wrote the words : “ Further delays are unnecessary ;” upon which that subservient tribunal condemned the unhappy Caracciolo to perpetual imprisonment ; but when Nelson learnt the sentence from the President Thurn, he replied “ Death,” and the word death was substituted for imprisonment. This iniquitous court-martial broke up at two in the afternoon, and that same hour, Francesco Caracciolo, a Neapolitan noble, the admiral of the fleet, an able officer, successful in war, distinguished for the honours he had gained, and deserving the gratitude of his country and his king by thirty-five years’ service, a respected and simple-minded citizen, after having been betrayed by a servant, betrayed by his companion in arms, Lord Nelson, and betrayed by the officers, his judges, whom he had so often honoured in war, was bound in chains, conducted upon the Neapolitan frigate *Minerva*, a ship also renowned for the battles he had won in her, and hung at the yard-arm, thus ending his days like a common malefactor. The body was left exposed to the scorn of some and the pity of others until night, when, after having a weight suspended to the feet, it was thrown into the sea.

The evil passions of the populace were increased to ferocity after witnessing this cruel example, and more deaths and destruction followed ; nothing was safe or sacred ; old age, childhood, the weakness of women, the sanctity of temples and altars could not afford protection from men thirsting for blood and booty. The only hope lay in the arrival of the king, promised by his delegates, and at last, on the 30th June, the longed-for sails appeared, and spread joy throughout the city. As Ferdinand proposed remaining on board, the royal ship was soon surrounded by boats conveying those ambitious of notice, or eager for rewards or office ; but

amidst so many glad and delighted faces, were here and there seen an innocent but unhappy family, coming to petition for the pardon of a prisoner condemned for treason. But the king soon grew wearied of this concourse of people, forbade the approach of any boat, and occupied himself with the re-organization of the State, taking as his advisers General Acton, whom he had brought with him from Sicily, and Admiral Nelson ; and guided by the suggestions sent him by the queen, and by the dictates of his own passions.

The first decree related to his repudiation of the terms of capitulation ; the second to the appointment of a Junta to punish the rebels, reserving for future ordinances, the declaration what was to be considered treason, the mode of punishment, and form of trial. From the time of the surrender of the castles, a Junta of State had been instituted by Cardinal Ruffo, and had already, in a short time, condemned to death several of the republicans. But the ferocity of the king was increased by victory, and while confirming the appointments of the judges, Antonio la Rossa, a man who was notorious for his dealings with the police, and Angelo Fiorè, already mentioned among the followers of the Cardinal, he substituted several new judges for the old, men of the most malignant characters, among whom were Giuseppe Guidobaldi, already known in the Junta of 1796, who had fled the country, but had returned home with swarms of *scrivani* and spies ; and three Sicilian magistrates, Felice Damiani, Gaetano Sambuti, and Vincenzo Speciale, who had been appointed judges in the trials at Procida. A third decree pardoned the offences of the Lazzaroni in sacking the royal palace, and added, that it was expected the king's subjects would follow this example, and forget their own injuries during the spoil of the city. By another decree, seven very wealthy monasteries of the order of St. Benedict, and of the Carthusians were suppressed, and their property confiscated to the exchequer. These monks had not incurred the royal displeasure by taking any part in the revolution, but owed their fall to their great wealth and the rapacity of the king, who put no restraint upon his inclinations or actions.

By a fifth and last decree of that day, the Sedili were annulled, and the ancient rights or privileges attached to these institutions abolished. In order to appreciate the importance of this measure,

I will here add a brief sketch of the origin and growth of these bodies. When Naples was a Greek city, it was usual for those in easy circumstances, the rich, nobles, and warriors, to meet for recreation under certain porches, afterwards called Seggi, Sedili (seats), or Piazze, and which were open to all; but though there was no rule prohibiting any one entering them, the reserve of manners belonging to that age, differing widely from the presumption of the present, and there being no third estate, which caused an immense separation between the highest and the lowest, none of the populace aspired to admission. There were four, as many as there were quarters in the city, and afterwards six; as the city increased in size, other and inferior Seggi arose, dependent on the first six; so that they at length numbered twenty-nine; but these were afterwards amalgamated, and reduced to five, called by the names of the districts to which they belonged; the Capuan, Montagna, Nido, Porto, and Portanuova. The other cities of Greek origin within the kingdom had likewise porches or Seggi; but when political power and privileges were accorded to those of Naples alone, the remainder continued to retain theirs only as a title of nobility and honour; Charles I. of Anjou granted leave to five Seggi to represent the capital together with the whole kingdom; to elect among themselves the officers of the Neapolitan municipality, to administer the revenues of the city, to confer the right of citizenship on such strangers as were worthy of the honour, and to pronounce judgment in certain cases. Thus these social meetings for pleasure and idle amusement were converted into meetings of corporate bodies belonging to the State, who met with closed doors, and who had the power of adding dignity to wealth and rank. Noble families of a late creation, or old families whose greatness had been forgotten, asked admission into one of the five Seggi, as a register and proof of their nobility. The people, jealous of the overweening power of the nobles, asked and obtained for themselves one Seggio called Del Popolo, which had equal privileges, except in titles of nobility, with the other five. From that time forth, a Syndic and six Eletti, one for each Seggio, composed the municipality of Naples, with a council of twenty-nine, chosen from these same bodies, and commemorating by their number, the first twenty-nine Seggi of the city.

Ferdinand iv., therefore, by the decree of 1799, ignoring the oaths taken by the kings his predecessors, by his father and himself, abolished the municipal corporation of the metropolis; that body which represented the kingdom and the nobles, and by which the influence of old families had been sustained. From that time forward there was no political authority in the State, except that emanating from the throne; all the subjects were reduced to a servile condition, and the system of government simplified, by being placed under one despotic head. The pretext used for this act of violence was the right of conquest,—the king maintaining that he had reconquered his kingdom; but this pretext also gave a title of legality to the French conquest, and conferred an equal right on the conqueror to organize the State into a Republic, making it the duty of the conquered to yield obedience, and therefore exonerating them from all blame: yet while thus proving the injustice and illegality of punishing an innocent people, the king himself, in the preamble to a law on treason, declared that he had never lost his kingdom, that although residing in Sicily, he had always been on the throne of Naples, and that he therefore considered every act of his subjects, if contrary to their duties towards him, treasonable, and if an attack against his royal authority, rebellious. As the two decrees bore the same date, he thus on the same day proclaimed himself a conqueror, yet conquered; a fugitive, yet always present; and a private individual, yet the possessor of the kingdom.

The rules for the guidance of the Junta of State were drawn up in harmony with these principles, and all were declared guilty of high treason, who, armed against the people, had assisted the French to enter the city or the kingdom; those who took the castle of Sant' Elmo out of the hands of the Lazzaroni, and those who had held secret communications with the enemy after the armistice of Lieutenant-General Pignatelli; and the punishment of death was awarded to all who had first accepted the office of magistrates under the Republic, the members of the government, the delegates of the people, ministers, generals, judges of the high court of military commission, or judges of the revolutionary tribunal: the punishment of death was likewise awarded to those who had fought against the king's troops, led by Cardinal Ruffo, and those who had assisted at the elevation of the Tree of Liberty in the Piazza dello Spirito



Santo, where the statue of Charles III. had been demolished ; and who, in the square before the palace, had destroyed or been present at the destruction of the royal effigies, and of the Bourbonist and English standards ; and to whosoever had written or spoken words in disparagement of the sacred persons of the king, the queen, or the royal family, as well as all who had shown themselves disloyal in order to promote the Republic, or injure the monarchy.

Forty thousand Neapolitans (taking the lowest computation) were thus threatened with death, and a still greater number with exile—a punishment reserved for all who had inscribed their names in clubs, the members of the municipal bodies, and those who had enlisted in the army, but who had not been engaged in the war ; even the city guard, which had been raised by conscription, without their own consent, but who had been compelled to serve by the magistrates and the laws, were included among the guilty ; the king declaring their imprisonment just, and his pardon necessary for their liberation. The Junta of State in the city, and the royal commissaries, under the name of visitors in the provinces, were ordered to punish the guilty, it being *the intention of the king to purge the kingdom of the enemies of the throne and of the altar*. The visitors were the Chevalier Ferrante, the Marquis Valva, the Bishop Lodovici, and the magistrates Crescenzo de Marco, Vincenzo Marrano, and Vincenzo Iorio. Every visitor was given an assistant judge in the trials, and each separate tribunal was thus presided over by two judges, and pronounced on the life, liberty, and property of numbers.

The scale of crimes and punishments was fixed by a decree, called in law *Retroattiva* (retrograde), because the acts were innocent until declared an offence ; and the magistrates having been selected at the king's pleasure, it only remained to prescribe the forms of procedure ; as the existing codes did not provide such as would secure sufficient secrecy and brevity, the ancient laws of the rebellious barons of Sicily<sup>1</sup> were adopted, which ran as follows :—an inquisitorial procès, to be instituted upon accusations or denunciations ; informers and spies to be considered valid as witnesses ; witnesses to be heard privately, and put to the torture, at the pleasure of the inquisitors ; the accused only to reply to the ques-

<sup>1</sup> Laws enacted at different periods against the rebellious barons of Sicily.

tions of the judge ; all his attempts at justification to be stopped, and torture to be applied if necessary ; no defence allowed ; a magistrate appointed by the king to go through the forms rather than plead as advocate for the prisoner ; any wish expressed by the accused to be confronted with the witnesses ; his rejection of proofs, documents, or witnesses brought forward in his justification, with all guarantees of his innocence to be refused. The decision to be left to the consciences of the judges ; the sentence to be brief without comments, without the delay of explanations, and at the discretion of the judges ; their sentence without appeal, to be composed, read, and executed the same day. Brief as were these forms, the king desired still further to accelerate the punishments ; he therefore instituted another Junta, composed of generals ; besides, as the occasion demanded, temporary tribunals in the cities, or in the provinces, and military commissions, which at beat of drum, and *ad horas et ad modum belli*, were to expedite the procès and condemnation.

Such were the harsh laws dictated by the king. On the third day after his arrival off Naples, he saw from afar a figure which the waves were driving towards his vessel ; looking at it fixedly, he perceived it was a human corpse more than half out of the water, with the face raised, and the hair dishevelled and dripping, approaching him rapidly, and with a menacing aspect ; when he could see it better, the king recognised the miserable remains, and exclaimed, “ Caracciolo ! ” Turning away in horror, he asked with confusion, “ What does this dead man want ? ” and amidst the general consternation and silence, the chaplain replied, “ He would ask Christian burial.” “ Let him have it,” answered the king, who then retired to his apartment for solitary reflection. The corpse was picked up, and buried in the little church of Santa Maria la Catena, in Santa Lucia. On inquiring the reason for this extraordinary phenomenon, it was found that the body, swelled by the water, could not be kept at the bottom even by fifty-two English pounds’ weight, weighed out by Captain Thomas Hardy, commander of the vessel on which the king had embarked with Nelson, and who himself was a witness of these facts, and related them to me. It had risen in the water, and lifted half above the waves by its equilibrium, a wind off shore had sent it out to sea. It seemed

as if intended by destiny to awaken terror and remorse in the king ; but though credulous and superstitious, he did not alter his ways.

His tyrannical laws, and the atrocious acts which followed, roused once again the passions of the lower orders, and on the 8th July, in the square in front of the palace, they set fire to a pile, threw five living men into the flames, and after roasting them, devoured their flesh. The king was at that time in the harbour, and Acton with him ; there were two fleets in the bay, the Cardinal in the city, where the Russian troops were quartered, and the captains of the Holy Faith were parading the streets, or perhaps present at the scene. This enormity struck all with horror, and was the last act perpetrated by the populace ; but worse was in store, though under the guise of law. For just at that time, the list of proscriptions arrived from Palermo, which had been there compiled by the queen, after consulting old registers, and upon information received from spies employed during and since the Republic ; influenced also by her private hatred and that of her adviser, the Prince di Casteleicala ; the king accordingly ordered the tribunals to commence the trials.

Thirty thousand Neapolitans were undergoing imprisonment in the city alone ; and as the old prisons were not sufficiently spacious to contain so many persons, the subterranean vaults of the castles, and other unhealthy cells were used for this cruel purpose ; to add to their sufferings, they were denied the usual conveniences of life, a bed, chair, light, and eating or drinking utensils ; for the prisoners were reported to be desperate and fearless men, ready to resort to any extremity ; therefore all articles in iron, glass, metal, and ropes, were forbidden them ; their food was inspected, and their persons searched. Men of harsh dispositions were appointed their jailors, of whom the most savage was one Ducece, an officer in the army, an old man, and the father of a numerous family ; happily for Italy, he was a foreigner, and native of Switzerland. He, more than any, augmented the severity of the torments caused by their chains, by hunger, thirst, and blows, reviving the practices, and vying with the cruelties which had been exercised during the baronial and monastic period. Next in ferocity, after Ducece, came Colonel de Gambs, governor of the prisons of Capua,

and Scipione Lamarra, a general of the army, besides many other obscure persons, whose names deserve to be effaced from history.

But the uncertain state of affairs in Italy afforded a faint gleam of hope to the prisoners, while they kept the king and his ministers in constant alarm ; for French troops were still in Rome and Tuscany, Genoa was occupied by a strong garrison composed of numerous legions, and stronger still in their leader, General Massena ; Piedmont was overrun by Lecourbe ; Macdonald, with a numerous army, was on the eve of joining General Moreau ; and, judging from the condition of the armies in the field, fortune, though inclining towards the side of kings, was yet undecided, and ready, when she pleased, to change. Two lists of names were therefore presented to the Tribunals of State ; one containing those to be condemned to death, and the other, those whose sentence was not to be completed until the royal pleasure had been signified ; this last was the list of those who had capitulated. Only in two cases, vengeance outweighed prudential motives, and this order was set aside. The first was that of General Massa, the author of the capitulation, who was hung on the gallows, and with him Eleonora Pimentel,<sup>1</sup> a noble-minded woman, who as a poetess ranks among the finest geniuses of Italy, but who held liberal opinions, and was the authoress of the *Monitore Napoletano*, and an eloquent speaker in the tribune of the clubs and of the people.

The Juntas having been informed of the will of the queen and of the king, commenced their iniquitous office ; first and most eager for the work was the Junta of State, which met in the monastery of Monte Oliveto, where this flagitious tribunal held their sittings by night, either to prove their indefatigable zeal, or to add to the horror and terrors of the scene. In order to prevent any stagnation in their acts of tyranny, they resolved to record the sentences every Thursday, publish them the following day, and execute them on the Saturday. Those who had capitulated alone

<sup>1</sup> *Donna Eleonore Fonseca Pimentel*.—Une dame Napolitaine, qui s'est d'abord distinguée par des poésies agréables et ingénieuses, et qui s'est ensuite livrée à des études arides, mais importantes pour le bien public. Elle a composée une livre

sur un projet de banque nationale, où il y a des vues très profondes, qui pourroit intéresser les hommes les plus instruits dans ces matières, A.D. 1793.—*Mémoires Secrets des Cours de l'Italie*, vol. i. p. 77.

obtained from the king a commutation of punishment, and in place of death, were condemned to perpetual imprisonment in the subterranean dungeons of Santa Caterina, in the island of Favignana. This island, in the seas of Sicily, the *Ægusa* of the Latins, and at that time a prison notorious through the decrees of the Roman tyrants, rises from the sea to a great height in the form of a cone, on whose summit a castle has been built. Within the castle there is a descent by steps cut the whole depth of the rock, until they reach an artificial grotto, which well deserves its name of the Fossa, or Pit. Here the sun's rays never penetrate, and the cold is piercing, while only a dim light pervades the dense moisture which hangs in the atmosphere; it is inhabited by noxious animals, while man, however young and robust, soon dies there. This was the apartment assigned to nine of the prisoners, among whom the most noted were the Prince of Torella, who was an invalid and in advanced life, the Marquis Corleto, of the house of Riari, the advocate Poerio,<sup>1</sup> and the cavaliere Abbamonti.

I must now enter upon the most tragical part of my history; for after the French had been defeated in the battles of the Trebbia and of Novi, the Sicilian Government foreseeing the complete triumph of the old over the new, overstepped the barriers which had been prescribed by policy (for they had none in conscience), and resolved not to mitigate any of the punishments. From that moment all the sentences of death were confirmed, and those who had capitulated had nothing left them but the prolongation of their lives during the few days in which they were confined in the terrible cell for the condemned. Oronzo Massa and Eleonora Pimentel having been executed, Gabriel Manthonè was the next to follow. On being questioned by Speciale what he had done to serve the Republic, he answered, "Great things, but not sufficient, since we ended by capitulating." . . . "What do you plead in your defence?" asked the judge; "That I was among those who capitulated." "That is not enough." . . . "I have no other for one who despises the faith of treaties." He went calmly to his death.

Manthonè was followed by Nicola Fiano, who, happening to be fortunate in his procès, was not found guilty of death; for savage as were the laws, they failed in discovering matter for his condem-

<sup>1</sup> The *Advocate Poerio*. The father of the ex-minister Carlo Poerio.

nation, but his death had been ordered by commands sent from Sicily, and in this dilemma the Junta resorted to perfidy. The judge sent for the prisoner from his dungeon, and, as he entered, exclaimed, "Is it thou?" then ordering his chains to be struck off, they were left alone. "Ah! Fiano," he continued, "in what a condition do I behold thee once again? We who shared together the pleasures of youth, little thought the time would arrive when I should be the judge and thou the delinquent. But the fates have ordered, that, happily for me, the life of my friend is placed in my hands. Let me for a moment forget my office and thou thy misery; let us be as friend to friend, and concert the means by which to save thee. I will prompt thee when to assent and when to be silent, so that thou mayest gain credit and confidence for sincerity." Fiano was astonished and moved to tears at this proof of friendship; Speciale, who was the judge, embraced him, and the prisoner repeated whatever he dictated, while the *scrivano* noted down his words, which had a directly contrary effect to that promised, for the traitor made him deny what he had previously affirmed in his procès, and confess an acquaintance with matters of which he really had no knowledge. The unhappy man was thus condemned to death upon his own words. In his youth he had been the boon companion of the villain by whom he was now betrayed.

Francesco Conforti, a learned man, a bold writer against the pretensions of Rome, and a legislator under the Republic, was menaced with death. His works had been lost, but he was requested by Speciale to rewrite them, and was told that his past and present services would stand him in great stead. He was given a better prison and left in solitude, when he toiled day and night on a work in vindication of the secular government against the sacerdotal; having completed his labour he presented it to his judge, who then opened his trial, and a few days afterwards rewarded him with death.

Instances such as these, and despair of life, urged the prisoners to extremities; one of them, a man named Velasco, of gigantic strength and stature, was replying by evasive answers to the questions of the Judge Speciale, when that inhuman wretch threatened him, that to punish his lies, he would have him strangled the next day on the gallows. Velasco answered, "You will not;" and before the words were out of his mouth, seized his enemy, and dragged

him to the window, hoping, that while grasping him in a close embrace, they would both fall together. The *scrivano* attempted to interfere, and the creatures of the police who were in attendance, hastening thither at the cries for help, Velasco threw himself out alone.

The Count di Ruvo, when reviled by the Judge Sambuti, interrupted his insults, by saying, "If we were both free, you would be more cautious in your language; these chains make you bold;" and he shook his fist in his face; the coward turned pale, and commanded that the prisoner should be removed; but hardly had he left the room before Sambuti wrote down his sentence, by which that strong man was the following day conducted to execution. As a noble, he was permitted to die by the axe, and he requested to be allowed to lie on his back, that he might watch with scorn the descent of that instrument which cowards fear.

Some of the prisoners in the deep dungeons of Castel-Nuovo attempted to escape, aided by a noble woman who was herself at liberty within the city; for in those times of affliction, when danger and fear prevented men going abroad, women undertook the charge of bringing aid to the persecuted. Treated with contumely in the chambers of the ministers, driven from the gates of the prisons, insulted in their misfortunes by the *scrivani* and judges, they bore all patiently, and modestly but without quailing, returned the following day to the same chambers and the same gates. If any of the prisoners escaped the death which had been already resolved on, or if any had their punishments mitigated, they owed all to the perseverance and charity of these women. One of them, after much labour and many attempts, succeeded in introducing files, iron, and ropes, with other instruments into the dungeon. The mathematician Annibale Giordano,<sup>1</sup> who has been already mentioned in the Third Book of this history, contrived the means of escape. The rest were employed to saw through the bars of the window, and to arrange the machinery for their descent to the sea below, near the harbour, where a boat was ready to receive them. The work was just completed, and the prisoners were rejoicing in the hope of liberty; they were nineteen in number and men of extraordinary merit, as among them were Cirillo,

<sup>1</sup> *Annibale Giordano* who betrayed the Minister Medici. See *ante*, p. 217.

Pagano, Baffi,<sup>1</sup> and others; when, in the middle of the night, the gates were unlocked, and Duecce entered the dungeon with a judge of the police, bailiffs, constables, and others; the two first went straight to the spot where the instruments were buried in a hole, and to the bars of the window, the way by which the intended escape was to have been made. They did not appear like men in doubt, but went straight to their object without hesitation; for two of the prisoners, Annibale Giordano, grown old in treachery, and Francesco Bassetti, a general of the Republic, had betrayed what was prepared to the commander of the fort, on a promise of their own lives being spared. Seventeen persons in consequence perished by an ignominious death, while these two prolonged their infamous lives; Bassetti's was short, that of Giordano long and prosperous.

The trials proceeded. The Judge Guidobaldi had to examine his friend Niccolo Fiorentino, a learned mathematician, jurist, and man of science; an ardent, but at the same time cautious advocate for liberty, who had avoided public office, and had only endeavoured to instruct the people by his words and virtuous example. Guidobaldi addressed him thus:—"Let there be few words between us; what were you during the Republic?" "Nothing," answered Fiorentino; "I was guided by the laws, or by necessity, the supreme law." Guidobaldi replied that the tribunals, not the accused, were appointed to judge of the guilt or innocence of their actions, and then addressed him in a speech composed of a smattering of law, mingled with insults and protestations of old friendship, while always repeating the words, justice, faith, and the goodness of the king. The prisoner, who was a man of warm and hasty temper, lost patience, and burst forth: "The king, not we, occasioned the war with the French; the king and his general, Mack, caused our defeat; the king fled, leaving the kingdom in poverty and disorder; it was by his means the enemy conquered and imposed their will on the vanquished people; we obeyed them, as our fathers obeyed the will of King Charles of Bourbon, for the obe-

<sup>1</sup> Pasquale Baffi, a celebrated Greek scholar, born 1749, in Calabria. In 1773 appointed to the chair of Latin and Greek in Naples, and made Librarian of the Royal

Library. In 1787, Member of the Herculanæan Academy, and employed to decipher Greek papyri.



dience of the conquered is lawful, because an act of necessity ; and now you, the delegate of that same King, you speak to us of *laws*, justice, and faith. What are your laws ? laws delivered after the act ; what is your justice ? a secret procès, no defence, and arbitrary sentences ; and what your faith ? the terms of the capitulation for the castles, which have all been broken. Shame on you for profaning words revered by the whole civilized world, and using them to serve the purpose of the most infamous of tyrannies ! Say rather that the princes want blood ; do not give yourselves the trouble of trials and condemnations, but read the lists of those proscribed, and put them to death at once ; this vengeance would be more rapid, and more conformable with the tyrant's dignity. Finally, since you protest a friendship for me, I exhort you to relinquish your present office of executioner rather than judge ; and remember, that if the universal justice, which despite deeds such as yours still revolves around this earth, does not punish your crimes in your lifetime, your detested name will disgrace your children, and your memory will be cursed for ages to come." The vehemence of the orator prevented the possibility of interruption, and when he had ended, he was handed over to the police, who savagely drawing the ropes and chains tighter, produced as many wounds in his flesh as there were knots ; but, on his return to the dungeon, he related to us what had passed, and added (a sad but true foreboding), " that he would soon repeat his words to our dead comrades."

Mario Pagano only said that he believed every attempt at defence useless, that life had become burdensome to him from the unceasing wickedness of man, and the tyranny of governments, and that he hoped for peace after death.

When Domenico Cirillo was asked his age, he replied, " Sixty ;" his profession ? " A physician during the king's reign ; a delegate of the people during the Republic." Irritated by this boast, the Judge Speciale then asked in mockery ; " And what are you in my presence ?" . . . " In thy presence, coward, I am a hero." He was condemned to die. His high reputation, and having frequently attended the royal family in a medical capacity, caused his execution to be postponed ; and during this interval, Hamilton and Nelson sent to inform him in his prison, that if he would ask the king's pardon it would be granted ; but he answered with dignity

that he had lost the fruit of all the labours of his mind in the sack of his house, and the charms of domestic life with the hope of continuing his name, by the loss of his niece; that he had no further attractions to life, and that hoping for peace after death, he would do nothing to escape it. He suffered upon the gallows, together with Mario Pagano, Ignazio Ciaja, and Vincenzo Russo. So much wisdom, so much learning, and so much honour were thus lost to Italy in one day. The populace looked on in awe-struck silence; it was rumoured that if the death of Cirillo had not been hastened, the king would have pardoned him, but this false report soon died away, and obtained no credit.

It would be a tedious and melancholy task to describe instance after instance of the proceedings of the tyrants, and of the misery of their victims. I shall therefore only mention those which were most cruel and notorious. About three hundred of the first men in the kingdom perished, without reckoning those who had been killed in fight or during the riots; of this unhappy number, were Caraffa, Riario, Colonna, Caracciolo, five of the Pignatellis (of Vaglio, Stròngoli and Marsico), and at least twenty more members of illustrious families; beside whom were seen men distinguished in letters or science, such as Cirillo, Pagano, Conforti, Russo, Ciaja, Fiorentino, Baffi, Falconieri, Logoteta, De Filippis, Albanese, Bagni, Neri, and many more; as well as men renowned for other reasons, such as Generals Federici, Massa, Manthonè, Bishop Sarno, Bishop Natale, and the Prelate Troise; besides Eleonora Pimentel, a woman of unblemished character, and the unhappy girl Luigia Sanfelice. No other city or kingdom in the world, as rich with men of genius, has been equally impoverished by the loss of so many and of so high an order. The cases of the noble youths Serra and Riario, who were beheaded, were still more pitied by gentle hearts, neither of them having completed his twentieth year, while one of the name of Genzano had hardly attained his sixteenth. An almost incredible fact is recorded of this last: an only son of a wealthy and patrician family, and the future hope of their house, he died by the executioner; and his father, the Marquis Genzano, either from a base nature, servility, or ambition, was so unnatural a monster, that a few weeks after the death of his son, he invited the Judges of the Junta to a sumptuous banquet.

Another miserable spectacle was, the destitution of whole families, whose property had been sequestrated or confiscated by the Exchequer, or whose houses were empty, from having been rifled when the town was sacked; the credit of others had been exhausted by their inability to pay, and the aid received from relations and friends had been consumed in prison, or by the rapacity of the *scrivani* and judges, during the trials. It was forbidden by law to speak to the prisoners, or inquire into the accusations, or to have access to the magistrates; but all were venal, and even mercy and justice had their price. Therefore to this day, families who were originally in easy circumstances, can with difficulty procure the necessaries of life, and often have to beg for food. The property of the rebels was administered by men of cruel and obdurate characters, who, in the embarrassed state of the treasury, confiscated whole revenues, sold the land, and neglected to support the families of the prisoners. The aged Princess della . . . . (I have been requested for the present to conceal her name), lived in poverty, on the charity of a servant.

The trial of Sanfelice, who had been the cause of the discovery of Baker's conspiracy, commenced. Ferri had been killed in the war, or had fled to France, and the relatives of the murdered Baker called for vengeance both in the tribunals of State and in the palace; for all the blood which had been shed for the monarchy could not satisfy their fury, and they demanded more for the family. The unhappy woman was thrown into a horrible dungeon, and by the laws which condemned all to death who had committed any act to favour the Republic, she was sentenced to die, and would have been immediately executed, had she not confessed herself with child. The execution was therefore suspended, but the king wrote from Palermo, reproaching the Junta with this delay, and ordering the woman to be sent to Sicily. On her arrival in Palermo she was shut up in a dungeon to wait the day of her child's birth, which was to be the last for the mother.

Another trial which caused much excitement, was that of the naval officers. Admiral Caracciolo was dead, but one death was not enough to appease the rage which had been excited by the fatal engagements off Procida and Castellamare, and the affair at the bridge of the Maddalena. The queen accordingly wrote from

Palermo, ordering the Junta to select four of those most implicated, and have them executed ; to condemn the rest to minor punishments, and to complete their procès, which had been too long delayed, causing much injury as a precedent, and greatly lamented by all the loyal servants of the king. This iniquitous Junta, after due deliberation, selected their victims, among whom was Captain Sancaprè, detained in the prisons of San Stefano, an island off Gaeta. The day of trial had been fixed, but the winds delayed the arrival of the ship at the island, and its return with the prisoner ; but the queen's orders were not therefore to be disobeyed, nor the sentence deferred ; the judges, therefore, substituted for the fortunate Sancaprè, Captain Luigi Lagranalais, who had, by a former sentence, been condemned to banishment. Nor was this the only instance of slavish subserviency. Flavio Pirelli, a worthy magistrate, who was in prison, after having been acquitted and liberated by the Junta, was condemned, by letters of the king, to perpetual imprisonment at Ariano. Michel Angelo Novi, condemned to banishment by the Junta, was, by a command, sent from Palermo, shut up in prison for life ; Gregorio Mancini, sentenced to fifteen years' banishment, had taken leave of his wife and children, and was on board the ship ready to sail, when he was detained by fresh orders from the king, and the next day perished on the gallows.

Hardly had the " case of the navy," as it was called, been concluded, before that of the city commenced. Serious charges were brought against the nobles ; disobedience to the king's lieutenant ; usurpation of authority ; the creation of a new government upon the fall of the monarchy and of the House of Bourbon ; the people prevented defending the city ; assistance rendered to the enemy ; all which crimes were concentrated in one. The Junta of State was again the tribunal employed for this trial, with the addition of some extra judges chosen by the king from magistrates of high rank and from his ministers ; the mode of procedure was to be identical with the last, though the punishments were to be different. The whole order of nobles trembled for their lives ; for though the accused were not above twenty persons, numbers who were connected with them by blood, took alarm. They could produce in their defence the ancient privileges of their order ; but these had been shaken by the events of the period. The trial

only occupied a few days ; some were set at liberty, many were punished with imprisonment, or confinement in the islands near Sicily ; and one alone was condemned to death—the Duke di Monteleone, well known in Europe and America, who possessed riches beyond the limits of a private fortune, a husband and father, and respected for the qualities of his heart and head. He would have perished by the hands of the executioner, had not letters from Pope Pius VI., addressed to the king, begged and obtained as a favour, that the sentence of death should be commuted to perpetual imprisonment in the island of Favignana. The condemned went to their several places of punishment, and among them the young Prince of Canosa, declared guilty, because he had proposed to change the monarchy into an oligarchy ; three of the eight judges had sentenced him to death, but the others, more lenient, pardoned his having ventured to move the measure, and condemned him to only five years' imprisonment.

The Junta of generals, presided over by Lieutenant-General de Gambs, the Council of the Subitanei (the improvised), and the Visitors to the provinces, rivalled the Junta of State in the rigour of their sentences, but could not equal it ; not because their ideas of justice were less stern, but because the principal delinquents had been handed over to the first Junta, of well-trying perfidy. Along with the trials for capital offences, trials of less importance were hurried through, condemning to imprisonment, confinement within certain limits, and in many cases to exile ; among the exiles were seen the old, the sick, the infirm, boys or children, who had not passed their twelfth year, matrons and maidens ; all which innocent persons were punished on various pretexts ; some for having altered the fashion of their hair, or allowed their beards to grow ; some for having been present at a Republican ceremony, and the women for having begged alms for the wounded and sick. Amidst this unrestrained license in punishment, there was not wanting the incentive of private hatred or rapacity, which, under pretence of reasons of State, sent an enemy, creditor, or rival into exile ; many were betrayed or watched by servants, tutors, friends, relations, a brother, or a wife. The morals of the people, already lax, owing to the political condition of the kingdom in past ages, and to recent events, sunk to

the lowest ebb of degradation in the year 1799, by so many examples of virtue punished and vice rewarded.

Whilst the good were persecuted by the tyrant, the bad were promoted and loaded with gifts and decorations, called honours, though converted to a shameful use. The king gave Cardinal Ruffo the Abbey of Santa Sofia in benefice, with an income of nine thousand ducats in perpetuity for his family, besides other lands which yielded a net revenue of fifty thousand ducats and the office of lieutenant of the kingdom, with an annual salary of twenty-four thousand ducats; a new kind of largesse, and only possible where the wishes of the king are laws to the State. The gifts were accompanied by letters expressive of the royal attachment, and gratitude for the recovery of the kingdom. Other letters from the Emperor of all the Russias, Paul I., assured the Cardinal that he was the admiration of all good men, for his brilliant campaign in Calabria, and creating him a Knight of the Orders of St. Andrew and St. Alexander. The rank of colonel was bestowed on a retired captain, a brother of the Cardinal, with an annual pension of three thousand ducats; while ecclesiastical benefits and gifts, lands, and public offices were bestowed on the bishops of Capaccio and Policastro. The Chevalier Micheroux obtained the rank of marshal and a splendid diplomatic appointment, besides rich stipends; De Cesare, the livery servant in Corsica, and the pretended Duke of Saxony in Puglia, was made a general; Pronio, Fra Diavolo, Mammone, and Sciarpa, with all the leaders of the royalist bands, were named colonels, and most of them made barons, and decorated with the order of Constantine, besides being enriched with lands and pensions.

The royal gratitude extended to the officers of the Turkish and Russian forces, where it was expressed by doubling their pay and by large gifts. The greatest rewards were reserved for Sir William Hamilton, while the queen bestowed all pains to prove the gratitude of the Bourbons towards Emma. A magnificent banquet in honour of Lord Nelson was ordered in an apartment of the palace in Palermo, which was fitted up as a temple of glory, where, as the Admiral entered, he was met by the royal family, and crowned with laurel by the hand of the Prince of Salerno. At the same moment, the king presented him with a rich sword,

and a diploma creating him Duke of Bronte, with an annual pension of six thousand ounces.<sup>1</sup> Bronte is a little village at the foot of Etna near Catania, and was selected for the fable connected with its name.<sup>2</sup> The sculptors in Rome offered, at their own expense, to erect a column with rostrums for the Duke of Bronte. These rewards and honours were all deserved by the conqueror of Aboukir, and, perhaps, scarcely equalled his merits; but the Nelson of Naples was unworthy of them; the royal family and people who had only lavished encomiums on the hero of Egypt, now dedicated immortal monuments to the murderer of Caracciolo, to the degraded lover of Lady Hamilton, to him who had violated the public faith, and whose arm had been all-powerful in the support of tyranny. It is to such baseness that Italy may trace the chief cause of her miseries.

Still greater recompenses were conferred upon the formation of a new army. The old army had been dissolved, the Republicans were proscribed or held in detestation, and the royalist bands were disorderly, composed of many officers and few or no soldiers. The Cardinal, in the beginning of the war wishing to avoid incurring the displeasure of his followers, allowed each to assume the military rank or position he fancied. The leaders therefore took the rank of colonel, not choosing higher, because there was neither time nor workmen in the provinces of sufficient skill to embroider the uniform of a general; nevertheless some, such as Pronio, Mammone, and Rodio, assumed the title; whilst one of the name of Carbone, who had only been a private in the old army, and a quarter-master, Nunziante, took the rank of colonels. Another soldier, of the name of Pastore, with more modesty called himself a major. All the brothers of Fra Diavolo, men who had only been common labourers, appeared as captains; and there were innumerable colonels, majors, and officers of all grades, as each assumed the rank he pleased, or accepted that given him by chance. To the mere wearing a uniform succeeded the ambition for command. Fools, unfitted for the noble profession of arms by their low birth and habits, now aimed at serving in the new army in their self-created rank. Amidst this conflict of interest and claims, it required skill-

<sup>1</sup> A Sicilian ounce, twelve francs, eighty centimes, or ten shillings and eightpence.

<sup>2</sup> Bronte, thunder, one of the Cyclopes.

ful management to re-form the army, and a council was held on the subject, where, though Cardinal Ruffo gave a true picture of the ruffians who had composed his band of followers, the king dictated ordinances and despatches to this effect:—

“As the campaign of 1798 was lost by the treachery of many officers in the army, we will, that all rebels, both those who failed in their duty, and those who accepted military or civil employment under the Republic, shall be excluded from the army.

“Whoever served under that unlawful government shall be reputed guilty of high treason, more guilty if taken in arms, worse still if fighting against our standard, and guilty of death, if urged on by perfidy and obstinacy, they have been wounded.

“But willing to indulge our natural clemency, and to allow something for the inadvertencies of youth, besides offering some inducement to repentance, we will that those officers shall be recommended to our royal favour, who, tempted by poverty, served the rebels from necessity, yet refused to fight against our standard, or who at its sight deserted, or who, evincing still greater fidelity or repentance, joined the royalist troops, and turned against our enemies; and we will that those who held the supreme command of any fort under the Republic, yet surrendered it into the hands of our soldiers or our allies, be readmitted into the royal service.

“And after having thus provided for the officers of the old army, we command that in the new, those who fought for the cause of the throne shall stand first; pardoning the offences of their previous lives and actions, which in themselves may perhaps be deserving of censure, but which were committed in the re-conquest of the kingdom; for we shall only esteem and regard in them the services rendered to our cause. The leaders of the royalist bands shall therefore be colonels, and all shall be officers (down to ensigns) who fought with distinction in these bands; that rewards may be apportioned to merit, we declare those deserving who were the first to take up arms in a community, who roused the citizens to fight, and who led forth numerous bands, or performed any remarkable feat in arms; and we declare those still more deserving who conspired against the enemy, and caused him greater injury by open or secret means.”

To these ordinances succeeded regulations for the levy of sol-



diers ; when it was found necessary to form many battalions of free companies, or volunteers, because the warriors of the Holy Faith refused to return to the hard labour of the pickaxe, or condescend to the discipline of regular troops.

By the above-mentioned royal ordinances, some of the Bourbonist juntas were commissioned to scrutinize the actions of the officers of the former army, and as to the rigour of this measure was added the harsh character of the judges, few escaped death, imprisonment, or exile. After one court-martial had cruelly condemned General Federici to death, for having served under the Republic, another court-martial ordered the execution of Major Eleutrio Ruggeri, because two recent wounds were discovered upon his body ; many and shameful falsehoods followed, in the endeavour to preserve life. Some asserted they had fled from battle ; others purchased a false certificate from the leaders of the Holy Faith, for having deserted the banners of the Republic ; some got their names inscribed in the lists of conspirators with Baker, Tanfani, or Cristalloro, paying a high price to stigmatize their own names with a treachery of which they were innocent ; while others concealed the scars of honourable wounds. Forged letters and documents, lying and suborned witnesses, and perversions of truth, were constant ; all ideas of honour were reversed, and thus the strongest bond which unites an army was severed. The Juntas were chiefly guided in their sentences by the single fact, whether the officer under examination had or had not served the Republic ; including all as traitors who had been employed by that government, and those it had neglected, faithful ; and as the former government had only enlisted the services of brave men, and had passed over cowards, virtue was thus punished, and pusillanimity rewarded.

Soon afterwards an inquiry was instituted into the conduct of the generals who had served in the army of Mack, as well as into that of the commanders of the fortresses which had surrendered ; Gaeta, Pescara, and Civitella. General Micheroux, who had been defeated at Fermo, and had retreated, leaving the frontier exposed, was acquitted and commended ; Generals Meeh and Sassonia left Sicily laden with gifts ; Bourcard, De Gambs, and Naselli were restored to their former rank ; Lieutenant-Colonel Lacombe, the pusillanimous governor of Civitella, was pardoned, and soon afterwards

promoted to a colonelcy ; Colonel Prichard had the same good fortune, and was advanced to a brigadier, and Marshal Tschudy continued to enjoy his salary in idleness, as well as the authority belonging to his rank. Yet these men had been the first and sole cause of the success of the French invasion, and had not only failed in military skill and courage, but had broken their oaths to guard those fortresses from the enemy ; and their fears, however justified, did not excuse their guilt. Had they been Neapolitans, and brave and upright men, with years of meritorious service, they would have been at once executed ; but they were foreigners, bending under years of servitude, degraded by a court life, and were not therefore suspected of treason, a word believed or invented, to excuse all the mistakes and violence of despotism.

The rest of the state was reorganized as well as the army, and all the acts of the Government breathed a malignant spirit of vengeance. Veteran officers were afraid to serve, new aspirants were audacious in their demands, while those who had fought under the Cardinal were not all desirous of a place in the army ; many wishing rather for appointments in the civil service, where they could live at their ease. De Chiaro, formerly a leader in the republican army, who had yielded himself with his troops and the city of Cosenza, into the arms of Ruffo, was sent as governor of the province to the very city which had witnessed his treachery ; and numbers of the old officials were turned out to be replaced by those who had conspired with Baker, Tanfano, and Cristalloro. The State was remodelled, and although based on acts of injustice, it was better adapted than formerly to the condition of the people, and their rulers ; thus enabling the Government to rise stronger than ever from its ruins ; it owed its strength, however, to the subversion of ancient statutes, and to the elevation of men and things belonging to the modern school ; in consequence of which a state of excitement and suspense continued, as in a time of conquest, which could not cease until the new era had been established, which required time, or much prudence and moderation on the part of the Government.

## CHAPTER II.

## WARLIKE ENTERPRISES OF THE NEAPOLITAN GOVERNMENT.

THE king, upon his restoration, exceeded all his former tyranny ; an assertion which I make with some reluctance, lest my readers and posterity, rather than my cotemporaries (who have themselves witnessed what I describe), may suspect that I write in a spirit of rancour, influenced by my own unhappy exile and my present misfortunes. All the events related in the preceding chapter, occurred under the eyes of Ferdinand himself, who was on board an English vessel in the bay of Naples, whence he sailed on the 4th August for Palermo. Before his departure he issued a proclamation to the effect, that by the aid of God, of his allies and his people, he had vanquished a strong and treacherous enemy ; that he had come to Naples for the purpose of rewarding the deserving, and punishing rebels from whom he never intended to accept terms of capitulation ; but while justice forbade any interference with the course of punishment, his royal inclinations prompted him to continue the rewards of merit ; he had therefore ordered the State trials to proceed, and that the fullest inquiry should be made into services rendered by communities or individuals. During his temporary absence from his faithful city of Naples, he confided the safety and tranquillity of the kingdom to the reinstated authorities, to the magistrates, army, but, above all, to the tried fidelity of his subjects, which he bade them maintain unchanged, and add to the honours they had already won ; as he, on his side, would constantly keep their interests in mind, and dispense rewards and emoluments among them with a generous hand.

The English vessel under the command of Nelson, set sail with

a favourable wind, and conveyed Ferdinand back to Palermo, where he was welcomed amidst rejoicings greater than had ever been before witnessed, and almost as if he had been a victorious king who had just escaped the perils of war, and was bringing peace along with him. But time only was wanting to convert the fulsome rejoicings of that people into lamentations, produced by the same man and the same inhuman conduct, in which they were now so madly rejoicing. Where resistance is weak or impossible, the general dissatisfaction may be manifested by the universal gloom and the desertion of the place where the despot is expected to arrive. This silent expression of disapprobation would prove the sincerity of the people, and be consistent with their dignity ; but, though easy and safe, so much virtue is not to be found in this effeminate and corrupt age. Ferdinand was therefore applauded by the Sicilians in the year 1799, for tyranny exercised over the Neapolitans, and by the Neapolitans in 1816, for restoring servitude in Sicily ; he thus learnt with how much ease he could subjugate these two infatuated races.<sup>1</sup>

But neither the rewards nor promises of the king, nor the tardy attempt at restraint by the Cardinal, could stop the violence of the Bourbonists in the city ; the state of license fluctuated with the passions of the populace, and when these were satiated, sometimes relaxed for a while to be resumed with greater violence than ever upon the slightest occasion, or when the evil passions of the multitude were excited. The necessity of a foreign war came opportunely to remove the rabble to a distance from the kingdom, and to send them off to Rome, where the king proposed to expel the French, while his Christian warriors hoped to plunder the city and return with fresh booty. They set out led by Rodiò, who called himself in his edicts, "*General of the army of the Holy Faith, and Doctor of Laws* ;" he was accompanied by a few troops of the line, and by several squadrons of cavalry, under the command of General Roccaromana ; Sciarpà, Pronio, Nunziantè, Salomone, and Fra Diavolo, conducted their followers, an undisciplined multitude, averaging twelve thousand men, though their numbers varied, some-

<sup>1</sup> For an account of the causes of the antagonism existing between the Sicilians and Neapolitans, see Gualterio—*Rivolgi-menti Italiani*.

times increased by those Romans who joined them, and sometimes diminished by desertions from the camp. After a few trifling encounters, they took up their quarters at Albano and Frascati, ravaging the plain beneath in the direction of Rome, where the people had risen in revolt; as that vast city was only garrisoned by a few French, and the Christian banners displaying the cross, were waving within sight of their walls: besides which, General Rodiò was carrying on intrigues within the city, by means of one Giuseppe Clary, a Roman, who had joined his camp. The dangers of the garrison increased from hour to hour, exposed as they were to attacks without and within the city; General Garnier accordingly, in the night of the 16th August, having prepared his squadrons for the attack of the Bourbonist camp, and placed guards on the city, left the gates at the first dawn of day. With the superior military skill of a veteran soldier, united with French ardour, he contrived to make his troops, who fought with twice the valour of the enemy, appear double their number. The first posts of the Bourbonists fled as soon as he came in sight, and the second followed this example; the fugitives spread the alarm and disorder, and the whole Christian host, unable to cope with an enemy in the field, hastened in confusion towards the frontiers of Naples; while Garnier, having placed a small body of troops at Albano and Frascati, returned to Rome amidst the plaudits of the expiring Republic.

The German troops had meanwhile gained possession by capitulation of the little stronghold of Civita Castellana, and the English squadrons were closely beleaguering Civita Vecchia, while fresh and disciplined troops, who had arrived from Naples with General Bourcard, pressed hard the siege of Rome, and obliged Garnier to treat for its surrender, as well as for that of the castles in the Roman States, garrisoned by the French. The treaty was signed on the 27th September; the following were the most important conditions:—

“The French are not to be treated as prisoners of war, but are at liberty to return to their country, and their adherents may follow them, or remain in Rome with security to their persons and property. The acts of the Republic to be pardoned and sunk in oblivion; Rome to be consigned to the Neapolitan troops of the line, Civita Vecchia to the English; the Roman territory to

be evacuated by the French on the 4th of October, the soldiers to retire with the honours of war."

The terms of this capitulation were maintained on both sides, and General Garnier addressed the Roman people in these words:—"The inconstant fortune of war has forced me to accept terms from the enemy; in the treaty you will find new proofs of republican loyalty, and you will perceive that I have had your interests, Romans, as much at heart as those of the French; which is only just, since we have a common cause in good or evil fortune. The acts of the Roman Republic are pardoned and forgotten; your persons are safe, your possessions secure; if any of you choose to follow the French flag, you shall receive all that is due to the unfortunate; those who remain, confiding in the faith of treaties, will be safe. Be resigned to your new destiny, and obey those now in power." Bourcard proclaimed by an edict, his intention to maintain the terms of the capitulation, that the acts of the Republic should be forgotten, and only new offences punished, but these with severity. Their arms were laid down and delivered, the companies of the civic guard disbanded, and all signs of the Republic effaced.

On the 30th September the French troops left Rome, and the Neapolitans entered. The first were followed by a number of Roman fugitives, and the second by the multitudes of the Holy Faith. The trees of liberty had been cut down in the night, and numberless sacerdotal devices which had been concealed, now appeared in the light of day. The standard of Naples was hoisted upon the castle of Sant' Angelo, and upon the public buildings; and the royal seal was affixed to the closed gates of the Vatican and Quirinal: there was no sign that the dominion of the Pope would be restored. One tree of liberty alone remained standing in the Piazza del Vaticano, which General Bourcard proposed to cut down in a public ceremonial, and when cut down and burnt, to scatter its ashes to the winds. But the festival was converted into a riot, for while acts significant of hatred and vengeance were sanctioned by the chief authority, the same passions were awakened in the populace, who, carrying the marble bust of Brutus through the city, wounded many of the partisans of the Republic, plundered their houses, and robbed in the streets, until, at the conclusion of

the ceremony for the tree, the troops which had been drawn up before the Vatican, were sent in patrols through the city to restore order.

Bourcard was soon afterwards succeeded in the command by General Diego Naselli, Prince of Aragona, who arrived from Naples in October, with the office and title of military and civil commander-in-chief of the Roman States ; tidings reached Rome at that very time of the death of Pius VI., and the pontifical chair being vacant, all looked anxiously for the first orders of Aragona, who now possessed the chief and sole authority. They came with a terrific sound ; for by the edict published on the 9th of that month, he proclaimed his powers to have been confided to him by the King of Naples, the conqueror of Rome ; and that he was sent by him to organize the State, to efface every vestige or remembrance of the detested Republic, and to purge the desolating plague of democracy from that part of Italy. Fear transpired through these threats, as the Neapolitan troops, as well as those of the Germans, Russians, Turks, and English, were spoken of in exaggerated terms, and said to be on their way to put down the rebels. Aragona himself trembled, but, though alarmed, the power was his, and those he ruled over had more real cause for fear.

By other edicts he ordered all strangers to quit Rome immediately, and threatened with death those who refused obedience or delayed their departure, as well as any Romans who should lend them their aid. Without examination or trial, he sent five notaries into exile who had drawn up the deed by which Pius VI. had been deposed from his temporal throne ; and banished others, only because they had been seen acting as officials or had been adherents of the Republic ; and, therefore, their presence gave offence and was a subject for scandal : he filled the dungeons with respectable citizens, among whom Count Torriglione di Fano is especially mentioned, a man of the purest moral character and of high merit. Aragona (as is usual with men of violent tempers), increasing in severity, condemned such men as Zaccaleoni and De Matteis, virtuous citizens, and the last consuls of the Roman Republic, to be mounted on asses and paraded round the city, surrounded by police and followed by the heedless rabble ; and in like manner were condemned thirty-five persons, all noted for the good they

had done the State. He confiscated the property of fugitives, of condemned persons, and of the absent, as well as of all those who had undergone summary punishments. In edicts relating to penalties and punishments, their limit was to be left "*to his arbitration*;" and to give permanence to his acts, he organized the police, increased the number of police officials and spies, and created a tribunal of state, by which the trials were carried on according to the rules laid down for the Junta of Naples. After witnessing so many acts of injustice on the part of the Government, the populace and soldiery, whose violence had hitherto only been feebly repressed, cast aside all restraint; every person who was supposed to be a partisan of the Republic was insulted in various ways by the dregs of the people, as well as by the followers of the Holy Faith, and (if the truth must be confessed) even by some of the Neapolitan army, who rifled houses and shops, profaned the sanctity of the domestic hearth, and insulted, wounded, and killed all who resisted their villany.

Whilst this miserable state of things still continued, which Aragona called a restoration of order, he remodelled the laws relating to the ordinary tribunals of justice, to the finances, and administration, all in the name of the King of Naples, entirely ignoring the Papacy, and imitating the statutes and forms used in the Neapolitan kingdom; he even commanded the people to obey no other rule than that which proceeded from his Sicilian Majesty. He created a tribunal, under the title of *Reggenza di Giustizia* (commission of justice), for civil causes, and another, *Reggenza di Polizia* (commission of police), for criminal, which two commissions united under one head, were in imitation of the great court of the Vicaria of Naples. A new tribunal called the *Camorale*, was appointed to try civil causes appertaining to the community and to the administration of public property, and was copied from the *Camera Sommaria* (Audit Office); and a *Consiglio Rotale*,<sup>1</sup> a supreme tribunal of appeal in verdicts on criminal or civil causes attached to the Commission of Justice and Police, and for consultation in cases where the royal pardon was to be asked, or on governmental commissions, represented the Royal Chamber of Santa

<sup>1</sup> *Consiglio Rotale*, court of civil causes, called *Rotale*, because the judges sat in a circle.



Chiara ;<sup>1</sup> special tribunals for commerce, agriculture, and the arts, were instituted as at Naples ; and to complete the resemblance, a junta of state reigned in Rome with terrific and absolute power. The codes of law which had at all times been confused and indistinct, had degenerated still more during the political commotions, by new laws and decrees, which only hampered the judgments and consciences of the judges ; they were made still worse by additional ordinances of Aragona, adopted from the legislative code of Naples.

He also attempted to remedy the finances. The fall of the Papal Government, which had been supplanted by that of the Republic ; the French armies long stationed in Rome, the arrival of the hordes of which the armies hostile to France were composed, a long foreign and domestic war in a small and barren territory, with two successive years of bad harvest, and, what was worse, an uncertain future, causing consumption and stagnation in all the sources of wealth, had reduced the Roman States to poverty and misery : but General Naselli Aragona had various expedients by which to fill the coffers of the Treasury ; he issued a new law revoking the sales, leases, rents and alienations of the State property under the Roman Republic, and by other ordinances sequestered the possessions and confiscated all the land belonging to republicans, even including that of men who had been arrested though not yet condemned : he revived former taxes, imposed new, and among them one upon land ; he also wisely included ecclesiastics among the rate-payers, and annulled their immunities, such as the exemption of church patrimonies, abbeys, monasteries, convents, hospitals, charitable institutions, and privileged persons of all kinds, as well as property acquired on doubtful titles.

These acts, opposed to the spirit of the Roman hierarchy, and appearing like the establishment of a permanent dominion for the King of the Sicilies, together with the despotic rule of the German General Frœlick in the marches, raised a suspicion that these successful conquerors meant to retain possession of the conquered regions, and to barter for them in the sale of nations, which was believed near and certain : For the disasters of the French armies continued to increase during the whole of 1799 :

<sup>1</sup> Royal Chamber of Santa Chiara—a court of appeal.

Macdonald had been defeated at the Trebbia, Joubert at Novi, and Lecourbe in Piedmont; the fortresses had fallen, Genoa was tottering, Italy reconquered by her former kings, France menaced upon the banks of the Var and on the mountains of Savoy; the Directory of the Great Republic powerless, and the nation disheartened and weakened from internal feuds. Perceiving that such was the state of affairs, the sovereigns of Europe, no longer fearing the restoration of the fortunes of France, ventured on higher aspirations and hopes.

They little foresaw what destinies General Bonaparte was bringing with him from the East, where, hearing of the extremities to which France was reduced, and perceiving that the war in Egypt was languishing, victory doubtful, and if gained, would be of no advantage to the Republic, he left General Kleber in command, and crossing the sea in a frigate, braving all the dangers with which he was surrounded, but favoured by wind and fortune, landed at Fréjus, and proceeded in triumph to Paris, where he appeared like a meteor, and as if preternaturally arriving at so momentous a conjuncture, amidst the agitation of parties, and when all were perplexed by projects, hopes, and fears; he alone stood calm, weighing the events, and inwardly resolved to change the disordered state of the Republic to a firmer government, and under the name of Consul, now conferred on him, was in reality Dictator.

His return from Egypt was displeasing to the sovereigns of Europe, as all feared the name of Bonaparte, and that he might support France in her decline; but none had yet formed the remotest conception how strong a prop this single man would prove. They were, on the other hand, pleased to see the fall of the Republic, as it appeared to prove that a single head was the form of government necessary to the existing state of society, and because they little suspected that a soldier of fortune could make himself a king; they were waiting, therefore, until he had placed fetters on the wild excesses of the French people, and until the mad ambition of their leaders had become exhausted, so as to enable the royalists within the country, the refugees abroad, and the king's army, aided by foreign powers, to conduct Louis XVIII. with more ease to the throne of France. Their hopes were en-

couraged by the belief that Bonaparte was inclined to smooth the way for them, and would himself rest contented with such recompenses as kings have in their power to bestow—rank, titles, riches, and servitude. Meantime the lovers of liberty sighed over the fallen Republic, and calling Bonaparte dictator, Cæsar, and usurper, whetted the daggers of Brutus, and, in every newspaper from France, hoped to read that the tyrant had fallen.

Between these two parties, inspired by hope and indignation, was a small number of sound thinkers, who looked upon the Consul as the saviour of the age; for France had never been a republic except in outward forms, but had been governed despotically by leaders, to whom the people had servilely submitted; the former had ruled like kings, and the latter either obeyed like vassals, or refused obedience as rebels: an instantaneous transition from absolutism to the freest form of government was impossible, because the masses accustomed to despotism had no idea of government except in the shape of a tyranny. Aware of this, Bonaparte united himself to the people, and made their views his own, while acting as their Consul; and from that day forth arose a rational confidence that all the possible aims of the French Revolution would be fulfilled; for if France had hitherto been able to resist attacks at home and abroad, she was less indebted for her success to the strength of her own Government, than to the chances of war, to a few men of genius, and to the first ardour in the cause of liberty, which had already cooled down by disasters and bad government.

Whilst the Consul was organizing the different parts of the state in France, and preparing treaties, which were however rejected by foreign potentates, and raising new armies and fresh soldiers, the disasters attending the French flag in Italy still continued; and the Conclave, assembled in Venice, was considering the choice of a new Pontiff who, at all events, should be opposed to France. Cardinal Ruffo arrived there with instructions from the King of the Two Sicilies; and full of ambitious views for himself, he resigned the reins of government in Naples into the hands of the Prince of Cassero, a Sicilian, appointed by the king viceroy of the kingdom; Cassero had magnificent tastes, yet was prudent, and as humane as the times admitted. Many indeed were the

calls upon his compassion, for not a day passed without men, until then revered for their wisdom or virtue, seen hanging on the gibbet, or beheaded in the blood-stained market-place. Executions had become so frequent, that the religious ceremonies usually attending them were obliged to be omitted, and the Judge Guidobaldi, to relieve the royal finances, made a fresh agreement with the executioner to pay him a monthly salary for his cruel office, instead of, as before, a sum for each person executed.

Thus the year 1799 closed with the loss of many valuable lives, for Italy and for the world, when inoculation from the cow, as a protection against small-pox, came to restore the population, by preserving numbers from death. The remedy was undoubted, because it had long been practised by the people of the East, in Georgia and Circassia, celebrated for the extirpation of the natural small-pox by vaccination, and thus preserving the beauty of the Georgian and Circassian women. In Europe, where an immense number of children annually died, an attempt was made to save them by inoculating them in a good season, and under favourable circumstances, with a mild form of small-pox from the human subject; and as this was found beneficial to a certain extent, the idea led gradually to a still greater discovery. At a meeting of physicians in Paris in 1775, the subject of vaccination was discussed, but no result followed, until in the year 1799, an English physician, Jenner, revived the idea in London, where he tried it on several children, and published the effect, adding an account of early experiments, and explaining the present process, thus converting the mere conjecture of a remedy into a fact. The reputation and glory Jenner acquired from this discovery, excited the envy of the medical school of France; as they boasted (appealing to the above-mentioned academical discussions) that they were his precursors: but the honour remained with the Englishman; for a discovery in art or science consists in one certain fact deduced from many vague and obscure facts by which it has been preceded; and which only proves that that particular science or art has reached a stage which allows of further progress, and the invention follows as a necessary consequence. Whoever, therefore, by his own sagacity or his good fortune can give tangible proof of the value of experiments, is

deservedly considered the inventor, whatever may have been the researches, and fruitless labours of his precursors.

The views of Jenner spread throughout Europe, in spite of hindrances from the war, from parental affection, which shrank from being first in the experiment, and (incredible as it may appear) from religion. Several physicians wrote against vaccination, sermons were preached against it from the pulpit, denouncing it as sinful, and both declared the proof of its permanent efficacy was still wanting, and that the small-pox might possibly return at a more advanced and dangerous period of life ; or even that some other disease might be generated by the repression of a natural complaint. In the year 1800, in the midst of those disputes, Dr. Marshall, an Englishman, arrived in Naples to introduce the celebrated remedy, and Naples, always ready for any novelty, trusted to his assurances. King Ferdinand instituted offices and appointed medical officers for the purpose of vaccination, ordered it in the hospitals and charitable asylums, in his favourite colony of Santo Leucio, and even, like a magnanimous monarch, in his own family ; he spread it throughout Sicily and Malta, and bestowed praises and favours on Marshall, whom he dismissed laden with gifts and honours. But truth, reason, experience, authority, and the natural love of offspring, have not yet, after thirty years, sufficed to overcome the prejudice of many fathers and mothers, who are averse to vaccination, because false religion whispers it is a sin.

In the beginning of the year 1800, the felicity of the kings of Italy and Germany was overclouded, as France, under the empire of Bonaparte, confiding in his great name and genius, had recovered her courage and strength. A new army was forming by conscription in Dijon, in which neither men nor arms were wanting ; the banks of the Var were again free, the advance of the Piedmontese and Russian soldiers was stopped in Savoy, the standards of the Republic reappeared in Switzerland and along the Rhine, and Europe beheld that powerful arm raised once again, and held aloft in suspense, only waiting the opportunity to strike. The government of Naples, which had been the most cruel, was the most alarmed, and with vengeance yet unsated, and concealed rage, published on the name-day of the king, the 30th May 1800, an edict called

a general pardon, by which declaring it was now time to pause, the punishments for past political offences were remitted, adding, that the king wishing his subjects to be as his children, and like brothers towards one another, suspended and cancelled the State trials; forbade further accusations, denunciations, and inquisitorial inquiries by the magistrates; and pardoned and cancelled all cases of high treason; but as prudence obliged the government to set limits to mercy, fugitives, condemned persons, many now in prison, and those in the dungeons of the police, confined there from care for the public welfare, were to be excluded. None of those pardoned were to be restored to the offices they had forfeited, as they owed their liberty to the clemency of the prince, and not to justice.

This edict appeared to put an end to the persecutions, and men began to look back and calculate their past sufferings. The Government had purposely refrained from making any computation of the numbers who had fallen in the civil wars, and in those lawless times in which every city or town had suffered more or less. Three thousand had left the country, four thousand had been exiled, several hundreds condemned to imprisonment, and many more to death, a hundred and ten of whom were from the metropolis alone. After the proclamation of the pardon some thousands still remained in the dungeons, and in peril of their lives, though upwards of seven thousand were set at liberty. The choice of the Duke d'Ascalon for the head of the police, was a greater boon to the nation; he was new to office, but as his mind was as noble as his lineage, the public were not disappointed in their hope that the deserving would be treated with justice, and that severity would be shown towards the populace who were still turbulent, and had not forgotten their gains in 1799, which they had already squandered in vice and dissipation. The Regent (for the ancient title was revived) punished the Lazzaroni alone by flogging, a degrading punishment, which, without increasing the shame of that degraded class, was dangerous because arbitrary, and was unjust, as it made a distinction between the citizens.

As the tranquillity of the kingdom was restored, though only in part, the king, who was desirous of obtaining the suffrage of posterity rather by silent marble than by the history of his reign and

laws, commissioned the distinguished sculptor, Antonio Canova, to make his statue of colossal size in the attire of a warrior. He instituted an Order of knighthood and merit, called after himself San Ferdinando, and intended as a mark of distinction for his subjects or foreigners who had been noted for their fidelity during the intestine wars of the previous year. The cross of silver and gold terminates at the four points in *fleurs-de-lis*, and has in the centre the effigy of the saint, in the dress of the King of Castile ; the motto, *Fidei et Merito* ; the ribbon blue, bordered with red. The king is the grand master, next to him the grand crosses, which do not exceed twenty-four, while the number of commanders and knights of the small cross are left to the king's pleasure. The statutes are the same as in the Order of St. Januarius, with a few added to denote a recompense for services in war. By another decree about three months later, the king caused two medals, in gold and silver, to be struck for the new Order, to bestow on the lower grades of the army and navy, and a pension was granted with the medals, which, though always considerable, varied in amount. All the royal family, as well as the greatest sovereigns in Europe, and the highest personages of the realm, were created knights of the grand cross, but the Order was disgraced by those on whom the inferior decorations were conferred ; as it was seen on the breasts of men, the infamy of whose lives could not be forgotten, by their having appeared in arms for the Holy Faith.

The state of suspense and alarm arising from the affairs of France, continued daily to increase, until it was decided in the royal council to raise a powerful army by conscription, although the finances were embarrassed, and not sufficient to supply the present demands of the State. Large bodies of Neapolitan troops had to be supported, and the numerous garrison in Rome had to be maintained by the money of Naples, since Rome herself was destitute ; the Neapolitans, assisted by the English, sustained the blockade of Malta, and supplied provisions to the Russian troops, who arrived in great numbers, to await its termination. Meantime, in the midst of dangers to which the kingdom of Naples itself was exposed, the king's advisers suggested that another army should be raised, and that the people, who (as they affirmed) were indebted to his Majesty for countless benefits, and whose duty it

was to provide for the common defence, should give their aid to the finances. An order was therefore issued, to raise sixty new regiments, forty-four of infantry and six of cavalry, in all 67,228 men, and 9792 horses, with 176 cannon. The men were to be drawn from the remains of former levies, and a fresh levy of ten soldiers in every thousand souls ; the horses were to be furnished by lot ; the landed proprietors to provide trappings and fodder, while the communes were to be at the expense of military accoutrements and arms for the infantry, tents and matériel for the field, cannon, military stores, and to furnish one month's pay. The men were, in times of peace, to be quartered over the country, and in case of war to be sent wherever required ; the term of service was fixed at five years. The officers were to be selected from those who had distinguished themselves most in the army of the Holy Faith ; while the conscripts were not to be amenable to the ordinary tribunals either in criminal or civil suits ; and to be rewarded by promotion and the usual rank in the army, conferred according to service and merit.

This levy was a heavy burden on the citizens, and as it was impossible to satisfy the demands made by the law, disappointed hopes caused robbery and injustice in town and country ; the only benefit the Government derived from the measure was, that a report spread throughout Italy, that Naples possessed a new and strong army, led by her king, the greatest enemy of France. But this report could not prevent the assemblage of troops in Dijon, where wonders were performed. While mentioning the most prominent facts, I shall refer the reader, desirous of learning more, to the accounts given by Generals Dumas and Jomini ; where it will be perceived that all the marvels related of the armies of antiquity have been exceeded by the present, and that our ancestors can only boast a superior political constitution ; while even in this, should fortune not prove obdurate, they will ere long be equalled, if not surpassed.

When the First Consul was informed how the German troops were disposed in Italy, he employed skilful engineers to explore the chain of the Alps, and determined to lead his army by the four valleys of St. Gothard, the two St. Bernards, and Mont Cenis ; he hoped to arrive unexpectedly, and break the centre of the



enemy's line, whose army was divided in various corps stationed in Lombardy, upon the mountains above Genoa, and along the Var, leaving their centre feebly guarded. Secrecy was necessary, and Bonaparte dissembled with great skill; causing the conscripts to reach Dijon slowly and in small detachments, while troops of veterans were as unostentatiously assembled in the other cities of France; the army of Dijon was therefore thought a false report, and was ridiculed as such by General Melas, the commander-in-chief of the Germans in Italy, and by the infatuated courts of Europe. But on the 17th May of the year 1800, the larger force, led by Berthier, under the direction of Bonaparte, began to move, and in a short time ascended from the plain below to the summit of Mont St. Bernard, where only snow and sky were visible, and where the clouds formed a dense screen beneath their feet. I need not relate how horses, carriages, and artillery were transported over these precipices, and the hardships they underwent; it is enough to state, that whatever human wisdom could devise or genius invent, whatever fortitude could endure, or necessity demand, were performed by that army; the guns were dismounted and carried in pieces; the cannon dragged up upon carriages of a new construction, and the soldiers, laden with seventy French pounds' weight in arms, provisions, and ammunition, formed a chain of men, and walked up the steep ascent, drawing after them enormous burdens; they performed the descent under circumstances presenting still greater difficulties; the cannons were fixed in grooves hollowed out of trees, and sent down rapidly, their fall regulated by other weights; the men themselves could hardly keep their footing amidst these eternal snows, until at length, it occurred to one soldier to sit on the ice and slide down the slopes of the mountain, which was no sooner perceived by the First Consul, than he imitated him; and his example, which had almost the effect of a command, was followed by the whole army, who thus in two days crossed those towering heights.

The three other armies crossed by other mountains and valleys, with equal labour and success: General Moncey by St. Gothard, Chabran by the Little St. Bernard, and Thureau by Mont Cenis; and thus sixty thousand soldiers, with horses, arms, and appurtenances, descended like four torrents into Italy. The larger army,

as soon as it had driven the German garrisons from the city of Aosta and from Chatillon, halted at Fort Bard, which is built upon a massive rock, in the narrowest part of the valley, amidst bare and inaccessible crags, rising on all sides ; a small but fortified city is situated near it, and the river Dora flows in the deep abyss below ; its form is an ellipse, and it is hardly three hundred metres in circumference, while a tower detached from the fort increases its means of defence. The walls were furnished with twenty-two cannon, and guarded by three hundred and eighty soldiers, under a German commander, Captain Bernkoff ; a narrow road, forming the glacis, crossed the town. The French demanded a free passage from the governor of the fort, which was refused ; but when menaced, the gallant soldier replied, if the enemy's columns were meant to intimidate him, he was prepared to receive them, and if they commenced an attack they would be repulsed. The same demand, menace, and challenge were repeated on the following day with the same result ; but meantime the French were in want of provisions, and had not the means to procure them ; the news of the enterprise had got abroad, and the army, the whole scheme and the good fortune which had attended it, seemed doomed to perish at the foot of a little castle.

Necessity made them attempt an opening by another mountain (the Alberedo), which they had to ascend by steps, difficult for infantry and horse, and impossible for artillery. The French gained possession of the city by scaling the walls, and in the heat of battle assaulted the castle ; they renewed their attack in the night, the safety of the army allowing no time to count the dead or wounded, but were repulsed with greater loss. To the honour of Captain Bernkoff, they now despaired of success, and the idea occurred to them of drawing the cannon through the streets of the city under the fire of the castle. Thus, after considerable loss of men and time, and after leaving a large body of troops to prosecute the siege of the fort, that army and the remaining three reached the plains of Italy. But although they encamped as had been pre-determined, between Susa and Bellinzona, they were not so disposed as to encounter the enemy to advantage, for valleys, although descending from one common range of mountains, naturally grow wider as they diverge from their origin ; while the army, being divided into four columns, the

rapidity and difficulty of their march, and the object of this campaign, gave it the character of an invasion, with the advantages and disadvantages attendant upon that kind of warfare. There could therefore be no base of operations, as the chain of the Alps could not form a base, and the lines were necessarily divergent, provisions left to chance, and retreat difficult; but, on the other hand, the French made rapid conquests, and were able to surprise the enemy and throw him into disorder. The peculiar character of this campaign, until after the battle of Marengo, accounts for the uncertain and hazardous movements of Melas and Bonaparte, and excuses many acts in the hostile generals, which would have been open to censure had they not been occasioned by unavoidable circumstances.

It was therefore fortunate for the French that General Melas did not believe the report of the army of Dijon, and was occupied round Genoa, and on the shores of the Var, whilst magazines full of stores were falling into the hands of the enemy, as well as the fortress of Pavia, with a large supply of arms, provisions, and clothing; as there was, however, no garrison there, the French had not even the glory of a contest. But after the capture of Milan many rumours and facts it was impossible to doubt, at length convinced Melas that the First Consul was really with a large army in Italy; and, abandoning the Var, he summoned General Ott and his troops from Genoa, and collected as many men, horses, and cannon as he was able. The fortress of Genoa yielded in a few days; and the French garrison, joining the legions which General Suchet was commanding in Dauphiné, made a formidable army of twenty thousand soldiers. At the same time, the French from Upper Italy, continuing their course of invasion, crossed the Po, and General Murat gained possession of Piacenza; the communication between the Germans of Upper and Lower Italy was interrupted, and their entire force was parted in two divisions, that before Alessandria, and that before Mantua. The four armies were thus strangely situated; the two larger in the centre, while those on the flanks and rear were inferior in numbers, though still considerable. Eighty thousand soldiers obeyed Bonaparte, and a hundred and six thousand, without counting the Germans in Ancona and Tuscany, were led by Melas, to whom delay was as necessary as immediate battle

was to Bonaparte ; but the former, aware of the necessity of forcing a way for himself as well as for the army of Mantua, and trusting to the separation of the French lines, to his superior numbers, and to the recollection his troops bore of recent victories over the Republican armies, collected thirty-one thousand soldiers around Alessandria, of which twenty-three thousand were infantry, and eight thousand cavalry, with a large supply of ordnance ; he then occupied the ground in front of the Bórmida, and strengthened the village of Marengo, which from its elevated position commands a view over the vast plain ; the only ground in that part of Italy which was not intersected by canals, and where the cavalry, in which the Germans were strongest, could move freely.

Matters stood thus on the 12th June ; the rapid movements on either side, perplexed all the information obtained by spies, prisoners, and deserters, and made the position of both armies uncertain. Bonaparte, on the following day, attacked Marengo ; and as the Germans abandoned it, possibly as a feint, he, being uncertain of the intentions of Melas, placed several of his legions at a distance, others still further off, and encamped behind Marengo, with 15,500 infantry and 3700 cavalry. But the greatest captain of the day was nearly taken by surprise, when, on the dawn of the 14th, he saw heavy columns of the Germans defiling across the Bórmida by three bridges. He could have avoided battle by a retreat, but it would have been at the sacrifice of his reputation, and by yielding to the enemy, what he most desired, a free passage into Upper Italy. Bonaparte therefore resolved to accept the challenge, to recall the detached legions with all speed, and to trust meantime to the valour of those he had with him, and to his own skill and good fortune. He ranged his small body of troops in lines, which, though necessary in the present emergency, will hardly be credited by those learned in military science, since not in accordance with any rules of war ; passing along the files of soldiers he inspired them with a desire for fresh glory, by reminding them of their past deeds, and concluded in these words, “ And we shall succeed, if time be allowed us for victory.”

Melas was well aware that his hopes must depend on rapid conquest ; but although his army was crossing the river by three bridges, they had only one exit from the camp, and three hours

therefore were consumed in leaving it. They attacked Marengo with twice the numbers of the French, and would have gained the position, had not fresh troops hastened to the assistance of the enemy; but the assailants being likewise reinforced, the French were obliged at midday to abandon Marengo, and renew the battle in other parts of the plain. As it would be irrelevant to the present history to enter into a minute account of the advance, retreat, success, or defeat of each separate troop of cavalry and infantry, I will only mention, that at one in the afternoon the French army, abandoning the field, retreated to the rising ground, and that the enemy, in close and triumphant pursuit, made their retreat slow and sanguinary. All the French corps were engaged, with the exception of the Consular Guards of eight hundred infantry, and three hundred and sixty cavalry, which were held in reserve. Bonaparte sent the first into the plain, where, formed in square, they stood the charge of the enemy's horse and foot, and the raking fire of his artillery, giving time for their own men to re-form; and so immovable was this phalanx, that because resembling a wall rather than a square composed of men, they obtained the honourable designation of the granite castle.

Recalled from the plain with diminished numbers, but unshaken courage, they were sent to fight on a new field; but the German army, attacking the French on all sides, threw them into disorder, confounded all their plans of operation, and forced them to fight in detached groups: the Germans had won the battle, and nothing now remained but to overcome the last desperate efforts of valour. Melas, therefore, after forming his men in columns, left Lieutenants-General Ott and Zach to reap the fruits of the day, and proceeded to Alessandria to write the bulletins which were to publish to the world the result of the battle, and to determine the plans for the next day's work. It was about three in the afternoon, and the battle still raged, for the First Consul, although he could perceive his losses from his quarters at San Giuliano, did not recall the remainder of his army nor sound a retreat, wishing the disorder to continue: he had just received information that General Desaix would arrive immediately to his aid, with nine thousand soldiers, and Bonaparte therefore sent to announce these news to his men, assure them of victory, and order

them to continue their resistance, an order which was faithfully obeyed by his battered troops.

At four that afternoon Desaix arrived, and the First Consul passing along the lines, thus addressed his soldiers: "We have now fallen back far enough; it is time to advance; we may then, as is our custom, repose for the night on the field of victory." The largest number of the French were at San Giuliano, where Desaix arrived, and whither General Zach, confident in victory, was advancing with five thousand troops, but he was met by the French army in good order, as if sprung from the earth; it was impossible for the German to avoid the encounter, or receive any succour, both parties having been scattered over the field for the last two hours without order, connexion, or any one leader, and abandoned to the guidance of many leaders and chance; but though thus embarrassed he fought on with German valour. Desaix was killed; the French General Kellerman, with a thousand horse, hastened to attack Zach, and three times breaking his lines, he killed, defeated, and captured the remainder of his troops, and their leader. He next proceeded with Murat and Boudet (who had taken the place of Desaix), to attack the other corps, but at the first sight of this unexpected detachment of the enemy, they fled towards Marengo, and the French, who just before could with difficulty maintain the limited space of ground to which their disasters had reduced them, now broke into the plain, and killed and pursued those who had been too secure of conquest.

The fugitives hastened to Marengo and Pedrabona, to allow time for the van of their beaten troops to cross the Bórmida, and after fighting till dark, as many as were able passed over the stream, and pitched their camp beneath the walls of Alessandria. Seven thousand Germans had fallen killed or wounded in the battle, and an equal number of French. The Germans lost three thousand more, taken prisoners, besides twenty-five cannon, with other arms and standards; several generals, and a great number of inferior officers were counted among the killed and wounded on either side; but the death of Desaix was that most lamented by the troops and by France. Great valour had been displayed by both armies; the First Consul was not himself engaged; the Germans were in the morning slow in their movements, and showed

less scientific knowledge than the French in the arrangement of their troops ; the whole of the German army had been at once engaged without a reserve ; none of their attacks were decisive, and though assisted by fortune, no bold stroke was attempted ; while, on the other hand, the obstinate determination of the First Consul, the arrival of General Desaix at the moment of greatest need, chance, and destiny, were the causes of the French victory.

Night, the kind dispenser of rest, passed gloomily in the camp of the Germans, but most gloomily with their commander ; nor did the French indulge in repose, because anxious to re-form their diminished troops, and cross the Bórnila in the morning. Melas, though accustomed to defeat, was now perplexed amidst conflicting thoughts ; he had before him a strong and victorious army ; in his rear at Aqui, the army of Suchet, and only a small and discomfited army at his disposal ; his best generals had been killed, disabled, or taken prisoners, and in a council of war which he convoked, he received more reproaches than condolence for the misfortunes of his old age ; he therefore inwardly resolved to treat with the enemy for a free passage for the army of Upper Italy, to collect sixty thousand soldiers on the banks of the Mincio, where he would be supported in the rear by the Imperial States, and to begin a fresh war under better auspices. He frequently exclaimed amidst his perplexity, either in wonder at what had occurred, or as a consolation to himself, " The battle was ours ; but that is the man of destiny." He was mortified by the recollection that he had boasted of victory, and blushed with shame at having to send off fresh messengers, to announce his sad reverses. His first despatches contained these words : " After a long and sanguinary battle on the plains of Marengo, the arms of His Majesty the Emperor have completely beaten the French army conducted into Italy and commanded by General Bonaparte ; the details of the battle will be given in another despatch, as well as the fruits of victory which Lieutenants-General Ott and Zach are gathering on the field. Dated Alessandria, 14th June 1800—Evening."

His next despatch ran thus :—" Towards the decline of day the enemy were reinforced by a fresh army, and fighting on the field of Marengo the greater part of the night, have beaten our army, the conquerors of the preceding day. Encamped beneath the

walls of this fortress, we are now collecting the miserable remnant of the lost battle, and are consulting on the best course to pursue under present circumstances, and the success of the enemy. Dated Alessandria, midnight, 14th-15th June."

At daybreak the French columns, which were already formed, attacked the camp guarding the three bridges of the Bórmida, and would have gained possession of them, had not Melas sent a messenger to Bonaparte to treat for terms; as the French army likewise needed repose and re-organization. The First Consul sent General Berthier as his negotiator to Alessandria, who, without wasting time in discussion, agreed with Melas upon an armistice, until the arrival of answers from Vienna to the propositions of peace, which the First Consul offered the Emperor Francis.

During the armistice the Imperialists were to occupy the country between the Mincio, Fossamaestra, and the Po, and to retain Ancona and Tuscany.

The French were to occupy the territory bounded by the Chiesa, the Oglio, and the Po.

The village of the Chiesa on the Mincio to be free from soldiers of either party.

The castles of Tortona, Milan, Turin, Pizzighettone, Arona, Piacenza, Ceva, Savona, and Urbino; and the fortresses of Coni, Alessandria, and Genoa, to be delivered to the French between the 16th and 24th of June. Of the artillery contained within these forts, only that which was Austrian was to be restored to the Imperialists.

The German troops to march out in three columns, without molestation, between the 16th and 26th June, by Piacenza and Mantua, and retire behind the Mincio; the garrisons of the surrendered fortresses to join them in the shortest possible time and by the shortest road.

No citizen to be molested for his political opinions by either the French or Germans.

This treaty was maintained. The garrisons of the fortresses marched out, murmuring reproaches against their officers, and ashamed to open their gates to the enemy without a blow: the partisans of Austria declared they had been betrayed, and lamented their misfortunes, but they had not even the consolation of



exciting the compassion or admiration of the world, because they were looked upon as base and self-interested. Genoa, which had been abandoned by Massena on the 5th, raised the standard of the Republic once again on the 24th June, and the following day an English fleet, conveying eight thousand soldiers, intended to garrison the fortress, arrived there; but by being a few hours too late, England missed the opportunity of gaining possession of one of the strongest bulwarks of Italy; and the First Consul reaped all the benefits of his victory, and received the caresses of fortune after the wonderful battle of Marengo. The Castle of Bard had capitulated from the 1st June to General Chabran, and the road by the valley of Aosta having been opened for the besieging troops to advance, they hastened to increase the army of Italy. The castle was still supplied with arms and provisions, the garrison was entire, and the walls uninjured; Captain Bernkopf, therefore, whose conduct had been praised during the first days of the siege, was blamed for its termination. Bonaparte having thus established new lines for the army, and protected the sacred territory (as he called it) of France, from every danger, having reconquered the greater part of Italy in one day, restored the Ligurian and Cisalpine Republics, now triumphant, and the favourite of fortune, returned to France, there to perform still more wonderful feats; but as they do not belong to the province of this history, we shall return to the events of Naples.

When, towards the end of May, Queen Caroline believed that the fate of Italy was decided, and the detested government of France near its fall, she made a journey to Leghorn, with the intention, after the surrender of Genoa, of proceeding to Germany, there to persuade the Emperor to bestow new dominions in Italy on the sovereigns of Naples, as a recompense for the war they had sustained, and their conquest of the States of Rome. Arrived in Leghorn, and after celebrating the fall of Genoa by religious observances, she was detained by the unexpected tidings of war in Italy. A few days later, at five in the evening of the 16th June, she received the first message of Melas, announcing the victory of Marengo; and having ordered hymns of thanksgiving to be sung in the church, she awaited the second despatch, commanding that at whatever hour of the night it should arrive,

she should be roused from her sleep. At midnight the messenger reached Leghorn; the Queen was awakened, and as she opened the despatch, exclaimed: "Let us read the end of the presumptuous army of Bonaparte." But struck with dismay on learning the defeat of Melas, she read it once more, as if incredulous of the fact; and as she became convinced of the reality of the sad tidings, her sight failed her, and she sank fainting in the arms of the lady who had awakened her. Recovering her senses, she once more glanced over the fatal letter and fell ill. The next news she heard was the convention of Alessandria, that the Germans had evacuated the fortresses, and the success of Bonaparte; and though hardly convalescent, she proceeded to Ancona, and thence to Trieste and Vienna; for her ambition for a more extended dominion was now converted into fear of losing the kingdom they still possessed.

In the Conclave at Venice, which lasted three months and a half, Cardinal Chiaramonte was elected Pontiff, and assumed the name of Pius VII. Entreated by the people of Rome to return to the Vatican, he declared that he would consent when the sovereigns of Naples and Austria had resigned the government of the Roman States to the Papal representatives; but these two potentates hoped in the chaos of governments then existing in Italy, to retain this territory and the power in their own hands, in order to barter for their restoration during the Peace Congresses; they therefore opposed his demand, and the King of the Sicilies himself, devoted as he had always professed himself to be to the Church, defended the scandalous contest, while declaring that these provinces had not been conquered from the Pope, but from the French. But he at length yielded for conscience' sake or from policy, and the Emperor of Austria followed his example; the Pope consenting that the States should be garrisoned by the troops of both Crowns, but that the government should be left independent. He returned to Rome in July, where revoking the statutes and laws of Bourcard and Aragona, he re-established the former government, remitted the punishment for crimes committed during the revolution, threw open the prisons, and commenced his reign in a truly papal spirit, humble and discreet.

Just then, in the midst of so many reverses, one fortunate event

occurred—the surrender of Malta to the English and Neapolitan arms. King Ferdinand, the constant enemy of France, had maintained two thousand soldiers there with two ships of the line, besides other vessels of war and transport during the siege, and his land and sea forces rivalled the English in valour and skill. The fortress, after a siege of two years, and wonderful efforts on the part of the garrison, capitulated on the 5th September of that year, 1800, from want of provisions; but only to the English, although the Neapolitans had been a party in the war; and although in a treaty of alliance of the year 1798, between England and Russia, it had been agreed that when the island was reconquered from the French, it was to be delivered to its lawful owners, the Order of the Knights of Malta, of whom Paul I. of Russia had been named grandmaster: but the successes of England concealed her want of honour and good faith. Among the Neapolitan troops were reckoned three hundred privates who had once been officers, but who were sent to Malta to expiate the offence of having enrolled themselves under the banners of the Parthenopean Republic; but although they fought valiantly, and could exhibit the proofs of their valour in their wounds, and in certificates from their superior officers, they were continued in the ranks as a degradation; for their present services could not atone for their past faults.

The palace was at this time rejoiced by the birth of a prince and heir to the throne to Maria Clementina and Francis, who received the name of his grandfather Ferdinand. The princess, after the birth of the child, expecting, as usual in the royal family, a visit from the king, prepared an act of charity for the occasion. There is a custom religiously observed in the family of the kings of Naples, that on the joyful occasion of a birth, three favours are conceded at the request of the princess. Maria Clementina, in order better to secure the success of her petition, and prove how earnest was her desire, united the three in one; the forgiveness of the unhappy Sanfelice, who, a few days before, had given birth to an infant, and was now waiting in her dungeon until her strength was sufficiently restored to allow the voyage from Palermo to Naples, where the final sentence was to be executed. A paper containing her petition and the prayers of the princess, was attached to the

swaddling clothes of the infant, in such a way that the king could not fail to observe it ; and, accordingly, when he arrived on a visit to his daughter-in-law, and smiling, took the child in his arms, praising his beauty and robust appearance, he saw the paper, and asked its meaning : “ It is a favour,” said his daughter-in-law, “ which I ask ; only one favour, instead of three, so much do I desire to move the kind heart of your Majesty.” The king still smiling, inquired, “ For whom do you ask ? ” “ For the unhappy Sanfelice.” . . . She would have continued, but her words were cut short by the frowns of the king, who looking at her sternly, and in his rage almost throwing the infant on his mother’s bed, left the room without saying a word, and did not return for several days. The severity of his manner, and the contempt with which her petition had been treated, with pity for the hard case of the prisoner, drew sorrowful but imprudent tears from the eyes of the princess. The petition was remembered by the king, and the unhappy Sanfelice, before she had recovered her health, was sent to Naples, and although, by the pardon of the 30th May, the executions were supposed to be at an end, she was beheaded in that marketplace, become so infamous from the scenes witnessed there. The people were touched by the hard fate of one so young and beautiful, distinguished for the loveliness of her person and her misfortunes, whose face was now marked with lines of grief and suffering, and who had only been guilty of having loved and been beloved, and of having saved the city from fire and slaughter.

But events, whether of joy or sorrow, were soon forgotten, and all eyes were fixed on the Powers of the North and of the East. Bonaparte from the field of Marengo, elate and flushed with victory, the conqueror in one day of twelve strongholds and of half Italy, wrote to the Emperor Francis, proposing a permanent peace on the same advantageous conditions to Austria as the treaty of Campoformio ; the two despatches of Melas, with the convention of Alessandria, and the offers of the First Consul, reached Vienna almost at the same moment, causing consternation in the city, and embarrassment and consultations in the palace. The Emperor inclined for peace, but was opposed by Thugut his minister, a man of low extraction, who had risen by his genius and character to the first office in the State ; an enemy of the French, hated by

the highest personages in the palace and city, but obeyed and all-powerful. He was seconded in his desire for war by the English ambassador, Lord Minto, and by the eager impetuosity of the Queen of Naples, who had arrived at Vienna in an evil hour; for she was a dangerous adviser in important matters of State. Lord Minto gave assurances of aid promised by the recent treaty of the 12th June, and Queen Caroline offered an army of Neapolitans to join the Germans in the States of Rome and Tuscany, and attack the French army in the rear; while both reminded the Emperor, that at all events, Melas was encamped upon the banks of the Mincio with sixty thousand soldiers, and had still possession of the fortresses of Mantua and Peschiera. Lord Minto hoped by this advice to secure powerful allies for England, and the Queen was instigated by her old and implacable hatred of Bonaparte, in good or evil fortune. War was therefore resolved on.

But the Emperor of Austria wrote an autograph letter to the First Consul, expressing himself neither decidedly in favour of war nor peace, but adding, "Trust in all to my ambassador, Count St. Julien, for I will ratify whatever he may decide." The Count arrived in Paris, and six days after commenced his negotiations with the French minister Talleyrand, and concluded the preliminaries of peace, upon the basis of that of Campoformio. The First Consul and France were satisfied, and General Duroc was sent on an embassy to Vienna; he was, however, detained on the confines of the empire, the preliminaries of peace were annulled by the emperor, and Count St. Julien was recalled and banished to Transylvania, either because he had exceeded his powers as ambassador, or from a breach of promise in him who sent him. Bonaparte declared that he himself, France, and public faith had been betrayed, and proclaimed war in Italy and Germany on the 10th September. The armies which were already in the field commenced operations, more troops were added, and a fresh army was sent to Switzerland, whilst arms and provisions were provided, and, by the boundless might of his power, Bonaparte roused all the region between the Po and the Rhine. The House of Austria became alarmed, and informing the First Consul that she had been only prevented forming a separate treaty with him, by her ties with England, proposed new conferences to conclude a peace on a wider

basis between the three powers. Bonaparte, either from his experience of the chances of fortune, or, after so long a period of revolution, and sanguinary domestic and foreign conflicts, feeling how much France needed repose, or, that he wished to appear as inclined for peace as invincible in war, was desirous to avoid further battles, and therefore accepted the offer, and concluded an armistice at Hohenlinden, while the Austrian, English, and French ambassadors met in the city of Luneville. The delay was important to Austria, by enabling her to collect her troops, and by giving time for her people to recover from the panic caused by the recent discomfiture at Marengo; it was advantageous to England, by weakening the French army now blockaded in Egypt, and was injurious to France, who at that time had the advantage in numbers and reputation, and whose interests therefore demanded immediate war or peace. The negotiators of Luneville therefore were influenced by opposite motives: the French hurried on the transactions, while their opponents were dilatory; and the conferences were finally stopped and broken off: but Austria, anxious to prolong them, feigned as a reason for her delays, the obstinacy of Thugut, who was accordingly dismissed from office, and then, in the hope of dragging matters on until the winter, she repeated her protestations of a desire for peace. Nevertheless, Bonaparte proclaimed war in Germany on the 8th October, and in Italy on the 3d September; this campaign, therefore, was called the "*Guerre d'Hiver*."

The First Consul having determined on his plans of operation, gave immediate orders to General Moreau, who commanded the army of the Rhine, to General Brune, who commanded in Italy, and to General Macdonald, for the passage of the Alps by the difficult pass of the Splügen. On the other side, the Austrian Emperor re-organized and increased his armies, chose General Bellegarde as commander-in-chief in Italy, and visited the encampments on the Inn, rousing the spirit of the soldiers, and demanding aid and alliance from the courts of Germany.

Hostilities having been proclaimed, the occupation of neutral territory began, as usual in war; in Italy, the German General Sommariva, who was Governor of Ancona, overran the country as far as Ferrara, and almost to the gates of Bologna; while Bonaparte ordered the occupation of Tuscany. The Grand Duke

Ferdinand III. was at Vienna, and had confided the charge of all military matters to Sommariva, who, taking advantage of the attachment borne the Prince by his subjects, made use of his name, which enabled him to raise immediately a body of regular troops, under the command of the Tuscan General Spannocchi, as well as armed bands of citizens under various leaders, to carry on a popular war. These bands, harassing the enemy, but also destroying their own towns and cities, fortified themselves in the mountain country near Arezzo. The Germans, dispersed in Ancona, Ferrara, and Florence, were in all more than fifteen thousand soldiers. Spannocchi had twelve thousand Tuscans in his pay; a numerous legion of Neapolitans was ready to move in the Abruzzi; General Damas, with a stronger legion, was encamped in the States of Rome, bands of free companies were scattered throughout the country, and it would therefore have been easy to have formed at once an army of forty thousand men upon the Apennines, on the flank and rear of the French lines; but dilatoriness or stupidity, or chance, delayed these movements, and gave the French General Dupont an opportunity of advancing into Tuscany with three legions. The first of these, commanded by himself, after escaping the attacks of the popular bands of Arezzo and the States of Rome around Lugo and Faenza, and after repulsing General Spannocchi near Barberino, entered Florence on the 15th October; the second legion gained possession of Leghorn, and enriched the Republic with her spoil; the third under Mounier subdued the inhabitants of Arezzo, and took the city and castle by storm, after as fierce a struggle as during a civil war. These conflicts terminated in a few days by the entire subjugation of Tuscany, whilst the English, Germans, and Neapolitans, who had excited the war, secure themselves, looked on from a distance at the overthrow of their allies. Miollis succeeded Dupont in the command, and General Sommariva collected his Germans around Ancona.

The armies in Italy beyond the Po were disposed for greater operations. General Brune encamped seventy thousand soldiers prepared for battle, between that river and the Lake d'Idro; as many, or nearly as many Germans, were encamped between the Po and the Lago di Garda, formed in lines, which, besides being protected by the nature of the ground, were supplied with trenches

and redoubts by the bulwarks of Mantua, Peschiera and Legnano, and had a numerous fleet on the Lago di Garda. General Macdonald was leading eighty thousand French by the mountains of the Tyrol, a no less difficult passage than the marvellous descent of Bonaparte into Italy, already described. The hostile armies were both ready for action, but Brune was waiting for Macdonald to reach the plain, and Bellegarde for the advance of the Neapolitan army into the States of Rome and Tuscany. The French cut short the delay, for having learned the victory obtained by their fellow-soldiers on the Rhine, they became eager, from a gallant spirit of rivalry and impatience for glory, to imitate their example. Brune, therefore, on the 25th December, ordered the troops to cross the Mincio at Molino, and, at the village of Pozzolo gave battle to the enemy, which raged with much bloodshed, from early morning until midnight. The French conquered by singular good fortune, for their commander-in-chief was at a distance, and his lieutenants (it was said) sought less their own glory, than that of their general; the result, therefore, did great honour to all concerned in the battle.

The following day, at another place called Monzanbano, Brune himself, aided by a dense fog which concealed his movements, crossed the river by two bridges with a large army, and in a fresh battle, less doubtful than the first, and less fiercely contested, came off conqueror. The German army advanced to the Adige, and crossed: meanwhile, Macdonald had scaled the mountains of the Grisons, and crossing the rivers at their sources, defeated the right wing of the Germans; Mantua and Peschiera were now isolated, and despaired of succour, and the blockade of the first and siege of the last mentioned fortress commenced. The good fortune attending the French arms thus continuing, the Adige could not stop them, and the German General Laudon only escaped capture, by feigning an armistice to the hostile general, which two days later (almost as if his falsehood had been a presage of truth) was concluded at Treviso.

By this armistice, the imperialists yielded all Italy, except Mantua, to the French, but the First Consul was dissatisfied with this exception, and declared that the termination of the war must be the surrender of the last remains of the German victories; Mantua



was accordingly given over to the French, by a fresh condition at Luneville. The war was suspended until the conclusion of the peace in the city of Luneville, and thus the *Guerre d'Hiver* in Italy lasted only twenty days; in which time, and in the face of a powerful enemy, two great rivers had been crossed, the whole declivity of the Rhetian Alps passed by four legions through snows and over precipices, two battles, and at least twelve smaller actions gained, nine thousand Germans killed or wounded, twelve thousand captured, artillery and standards taken, several forts gained, and the German army reduced to such straits that what had not been lost in war was yielded by treaty; all which prodigies had been accomplished by strategy, by the genius of the commanders, and the valour of the troops. General Brune acquired the greatest name, although he had performed least, while Macdonald gained less celebrity, though he merited more, for his labours and ingenuity; but his conquest had been over nature rather than armies. If one so insignificant may be permitted to question the conduct of Bonaparte, I would ask what advantage he obtained by arresting the army of the Rhine in the moment of greatest success, and why he did not allow them to gather the fruits of this campaign; and further, why he insisted on the passage of the Splügen, attended with so much suffering and loss. It is only another proof how evil passions will sometimes blind the intellect and judgment of men of the most exalted genius: for the army which General Moreau was conducting in Germany in that same *Guerre d'Hiver*, after marching ninety leagues in fifteen days, crossing three great rivers, and taking 20,000 prisoners, killing and wounding 16,000 of the enemy, and capturing 150 cannon, 400 great chests of treasure, and 6000 gun carriages, was on the direct road for Vienna, at only thirty leagues' distance; and had they pursued their march, might have made their own terms of peace beneath the wall of the imperial capital, without another battle or more loss; but Bonaparte concluded an armistice at Steyer on the 24th December, and thus arrested the course of their march, and the glory of Moreau.

This armistice and that of Treviso had hardly restored tranquillity, when it was rumoured that the King of Naples had prepared three legions against the small body of French quartered in Tuscany. For a long time past, the rulers of that unhappy kingdom,

who appeared to have lost their powers of judgment by misfortunes or by their evil consciences, had always taken up arms, when a wise policy would have advised laying them down. They had, indeed, on this occasion commenced their movements on the 14th January, before learning the armistice of Treviso, but they were aware of that at Steyer, and of the disasters of Bellegarde in Italy. With whatever motive, General Damas left Rome with ten thousand men, and advanced against Sienna, supported by the bands of the people who had risen again in the vicinity of Arezzo. Miollis, who was bold and rapid in his movements, evacuated Leghorn, abandoned Florence, and advanced in columns to encounter Damas, who, after having expelled a handful of French from Sienna, had pitched his camp in Monte Reggioni; and was there met by the enemy's advanced guard. The troops engaged were unequal, as the French were only half the Neapolitans; but these last were composed chiefly of warriors of the Holy Faith, led by officers who had served under the same ensign, and all of them totally inexperienced in the field: they were, therefore, disheartened before the commencement of the battle, by the fame of the French victories in Germany and Italy. The conflict was short; the Neapolitans passed through Sienna in their flight, but General Damas with some troops of horse, and batteries of cannon placed to advantage, kept the French back, collected the fugitives, and withdrew them into the Roman territory. The Tuscan General Spannocchi, who was supported by a few battalions of the people of Arezzo, now retired, and the bands dispersed. General Sommariva had shown himself upon the heights, but retired into Ancona; and Miollis, having thrown a strong garrison into Sienna, returned to his quarters in Florence and Leghorn.

These tardy acts of aggression on the part of Naples, unwise in themselves, and useless to Austria and England, excited the wrath of the First Consul, who sent General Murat to the confines of Rome, with the legions which had been held in reserve in Milan during the *Guerre d'Hiver*, and with others which, after the armistice of Luneville, had been recalled from the army of Brune. Murat wrote to the Pope in friendly and deferential terms, assuring him that his army would respect the Papal States, and that he had only come to punish the foolish and implacable hostility of

the King of Naples. The style of France was altered ; though republican in some of its forms, it was monarchical in spirit, and in the acts of the First Consul and his lieutenants. The Pope answered this friendly despatch graciously ; while in Naples, the ministers became alarmed, and the panic was shared by the king in his palace at Palermo. It was still further increased when the news of the peace at Luneville was confirmed, in which the sovereigns of the Sicilies were wholly omitted ; an oblivion and neglect deserved by a monarch who had not shown either discretion or valour in the war, but only acted by the impulses of a blind rage which rather threw discredit on the cause, than assisted the allied sovereigns.

By the treaty of Luneville, all Europe, with the exception of England, laid down their arms ; the Alps, the Pyrenees, the ocean, and the Rhine were to form the boundaries of France ; and the confines of Austria in Italy were to include all the territory from the Adige to Istria and Dalmatia, as far as the mouths of the Cattaro ; the Batavian, Cisalpine, and Ligurian republics were acknowledged by the Emperor of Austria ; the grand duchy of Tuscany was resigned by Ferdinand III. to the Duke of Parma, who had been dispossessed of his estates, in order to unite them to the Cisalpine Republic ; opinions, acts, or political offences of the past were to be pardoned, and all were to be secure in their possessions and free in their persons.

The world rejoiced in that peace which was only lamented by the Tuscans, who with justice mourned the loss of their good Prince Ferdinand III., and by the House of Naples and her adherents, who bewailed the treaty with bitter but well-merited tears. Fortune, however, came to the aid of these last ; Queen Caroline wrote to the sovereign of Russia, Paul I., and sent ambassadors to him from Vienna, explaining the dangers to which the royal family of Naples were exposed, and asking his assistance, though not by arms, but by the influence of his name, by which he could prevent the First Consul (and a word would suffice) crushing the throne of Naples. The Czar, flattered with the honour of being requested to shield an unfortunate monarch, wrote to Bonaparte recommending Ferdinand to his favour, and sent Count Lawacheff to plead his cause. The ambassador had an interview with the

queen at Vienna, and was filled with respect and admiration for her, as she was as great and dignified in her misfortunes as she was vulgar or worse than vulgar in days of prosperity; he hastened therefore to Paris, as her warm advocate, and succeeded in persuading Bonaparte to send orders to Murat, to treat for peace with Naples.

General Damas was still in Rome with the Neapolitan troops, when Murat addressed him from Foligno as follows:—

“The esteem which the Emperor of Russia entertains for the King of Naples, has induced the First Consul to forget all the injuries the king has inflicted on the French nation. His Majesty has continued in arms, believing himself stronger than the rest of the princes of Europe, who have sought the safety of their thrones in peace. Let him be undeceived. General of the Neapolitan army, quit the States of the Pope, and the Castle of Sant’ Angelo. The First Consul has forbidden me to treat with you until you return within the boundaries of the kingdom; your king is not protected by your arms, nor your display of military forces, but by the high esteem which the First Consul bears the Emperor of Russia, and if the King of Naples desires to merit the continuation of these favours, he must forbid the entrance of English ships into the ports of the Two Sicilies, and put an embargo upon (sequesterate) those vessels now in his ports as a return for the injustice of England towards the Danes, Swedes, and Russians. Let the ambassadors of Russia, at your court, assure me of the fulfilment of the preliminaries, which I propose; and I will then stop the march of our army, and conclude a fair armistice with you, which shall be the herald of peace on equal terms.”

After reading this despatch, and receiving other letters from the Russian ambassador Lawacheff, Damas sent General Micheroux, as ambassador to Foligno, less, indeed, to treat, than to submit. It was there resolved, “That the solicitude of the Emperor of Russia for the House of Naples, and the moderation and generosity of the government of France having caused the march of the French troops to be arrested, and opened the way for peace, Naples and France were to conclude an armistice for one month; pledging themselves on either side, not to commit any hostile act without giving warning ten days previous.” The conditions were

as follows :—" That the Neapolitan soldiers quit the dominions of the Pope within six days ; that the French occupy Terni, and the region along the Nera to the mouths of the Tiber ; that the ports of the Two Sicilies be closed to English and Turks, and that the ships of both nations should quit them one day after the ratification of the present armistice ; that French vessels of war and commerce should enjoy all the privileges of the most favoured flags in these ports ; that the French who had been captured on their way from Egypt (especially Dolomieu) should be restored to liberty, as well as the rest of the French prisoners ; that all the tribunals of state be abolished, and that the king promise, as soon as peace should be concluded, to accept the recommendations of the French Government in favour of those persons who had been imprisoned or exiled for their opinions."

The Congress for the armistice having been dissolved, another met at Florence to settle the terms of the peace ; Colonel Micheroux acting for the king, and the citizen Alquier for the Republic. It was there agreed :—

" The peace shall be permanent.

" The ports of the Two Sicilies to be closed against English and Turkish vessels, until these two nations shall have made peace with France, and until the termination of the maritime questions between England and the kingdoms of the North.

" These same ports to be opened to Russians, to the States comprehended in the maritime neutrality, and to the Republic of France and her allies ; should the King of Naples, by these conditions, fear attacks from the ships expelled from his ports, the French Republic, as well as the Emperor of Russia, will afford him succour in arms sufficient to secure the safety of the dominions of the Two Sicilies.

" The king to resign to the French Republic, Porto Longone, and all he possesses in the island of Elba, as well as his dominions called the Presidii of Tuscany, and the Principality of Piombino.

" The French to forget past injuries, but the king to pledge himself to pay within three months, 500,000 francs (120,000 Neapolitan ducats) as a compensation to those French agents or citizens who have suffered most for the cause of the Neapolitans.

“The king’s subjects, whether banished, forced to fly, or shut up in dungeons, or in concealment for political opinions, to be restored to their country, to their freedom, and to the enjoyment of their property.

“The monuments of the fine arts seized by the Neapolitan Commissioners in Rome to be restored to the Republic.”

And finally, “The peace to include the Batavian, Cisalpine, and Ligurian Republics.”

Secret conditions were added.

“That during the war of France with the Porte and Great Britain, 4000 French should be stationed in the Abruzzi, from the Tronto to the Sangro, and 12,000 in the provinces, from Tronto as far as Bradano.

“The king to supply all the flour necessary for the garrisons, and 500,000 francs per month towards their pay.”

These terms of peace were hard for Naples—but still peace. The Marquis del Gallo, who had been favourably regarded by Bonaparte since the negotiations of Campoformio, was sent to petition him for some mitigation, but he could obtain nothing, except a promise to adhere faithfully to the treaty, and prevent rebellions in the king’s dominions. The French general, Soult, therefore, who was destined to occupy the territory from the Tronto to the Bradano, received orders from the First Consul to maintain strict discipline in his army, not to excite tumults, to keep down factions, and to inform the people that the Republic was the sincere friend of their king. “I desire,” added Bonaparte, “that General Soult, with his aide-de-camp, officers, and soldiers of the Republic, shall attend mass on festival days, accompanied by martial music, and that they shall be on familiar terms with the priests and officials of the court.” Such was the change of style which had taken place since the commencement of the Republic; a change for the worse in the opinion of those who were impatient for freedom, but for the better in the opinion of others whose wishes lay within the bounds of possibility. The prison-doors within the kingdom were now unbarred, those in concealment came forth, the frontiers were opened to the exiles, and all the conditions of the treaty having been fulfilled, the blessed aspect of peace reappeared.

General Murat, then, either by the command of the First Consul,

who suspected the Italian exiles (as some had been discovered concerned in the conspiracies of Ceracchi, and of the infernal machine), or of his own accord, advised the Roman and Neapolitan refugees to return home, in an edict to this effect:—

“Murat, Commander-in-Chief, to the Neapolitan and Roman refugees.

“You who have so long pined at a distance from your native land, return to her. Tuscany, that country so generous to you in your misfortunes, can hardly sustain the French army, and now that you are free to return home, you cannot demand further assistance from her, and I cannot force her to supply it.

“Return to your country, after which you are sighing; it is so sweet to behold one’s native land again! Do not fear unjust persecutions. France, as you have trusted her, has stipulated in the treaties with your Government for the security of your persons and your property. The protection of the great nation is no delusion; rest in safety beneath her shadow.

“Neapolitans and Romans, banish fear, and for your own sakes, and for the sake of your country, pardon those who have injured you, and abandon your schemes fraught with dangers. Learn by our example the cost of a revolution; believe that by its nature it must produce the same misfortunes in every land and every age; nor hope that Heaven will always send a mighty genius at the propitious moment, to drag you from beneath the weight of your own ruins, and determine a happier fortune for the State.

“Our history teaches those to whom authority is confided, to govern with equity, in order to ward off the tremendous wrath of the people; and it teaches the people to respect those to whom authority is confided, to avoid plunging themselves into a political chaos, and into the terrors of anarchy.”

This humane and wise advice has met with severe censors; but those who read cotemporary histories will not fail to observe in them the universal failing which can always be indulged with impunity, to speak ill of the fallen; while it is a proof of no common courage in the cause of truth to blame those in power.

When the King of Naples was informed of the treaty of Florence, he ordered that the conditions of peace should be registered, and then prepared for the reception of the French troops in the Abruzzi

and in Puglia. He commanded everything to be provided for the maintenance of these unwelcome garrisons, proclaimed by a fresh pardon the liberation of the prisoners, and the return of the exiles, and abolished the tribunals for treason. All this was accompanied with an absurd ostentation of royal clemency, for the terms of the armistice and the peace were passing from mouth to mouth among the common people, who could not be deceived by the report that the reason of these favours was the arrival in Naples of Prince Francis, and the Princess Clementina. The refugees, meantime, returned in crowds, and demanded the restitution of their property, which had been sequestrated to the exchequer, part of it had been sold, and part was under the administration of the Marquis of Montagnano, a hard-tempered, unjust man, who, by endless excuses, delayed for years the promised restoration to some of them, and at last returned them their property diminished in extent and value.



## CHAPTER III.

## THE PEACE OF AMIENS—RENEWED HOSTILITIES WITH FRANCE.

1801—1805.

WHILST these events were passing in Italy, the Emperor of Russia, Paul I., had been strangled in his palace, and by his death the maritime alliance of the north against England was dissolved. It had been concluded a little while before, under the name of the Quadruple Alliance, because composed of Russia, Prussia, Sweden, and Denmark. The successor of Paul, Alexander I., did not wish for war in the commencement of his reign, and showed himself as hostile to Bonaparte as his father had been favourable; he preserved the amicable relations with the House of Naples unaltered, and gave assurances to this effect, both by letters and embassies.

The maritime war of the north was thus ended, and fresh treaties of peace formed between France and Spain, and between Russia and Portugal. The French army in Egypt, after several more battles, and the cruel death of Klèber, being feebly commanded by his successor General Menou, close pressed by the English and Turkish arms, suffering from a scarcity of provisions and despairing of succour, capitulated, and returned to Europe; leaving that part of the world in peace. The First Consul proposed a Concordat to the Pope, and the offer was accepted. Bonaparte, by this act, reconciled himself with the consciences of the Catholic world, and, what he valued more, mitigated the hostile feeling of a vast number of the French people. The Pope restored the altars in France, and the influence and authority of the pontifical office to the believing or superstitious. The conference was thus made easy, in which Rome appeared humble and yielding, and France almost absolute; Bonaparte proving himself an adept in politics, and the Pope in cunning.

Tuscany had been yielded by the peace of Luneville to the Duke of Parma, who, having assumed the name of Louis I., King of Etruria, arrived in Florence. The island of Elba, the Presidii of Tuscany, and the Principality of Piombino, which, by the treaties of Luneville and Florence, had been resigned by Naples, passed to France; but England prevented her taking possession, by fomenting the discontents of the inhabitants of Elba, and strengthening the defences of Porto Ferraio, while exciting the people by gifts in money and arms. The islanders were inclined for peace, but, faithful, and devotedly attached to the good Prince Ferdinand III., they revolted against their new rulers, while five hundred Tuscan soldiers, under the command of Colonel Fisson, defended the fortress of Porto Ferraio; he was a native of Lorraine, upwards of seventy years old, and brave both from a vigorous constitution and the habits of a military life. These troops, aided by a handful of English (four hundred men), under Colonel Airey, and by the insurrection in the island, where a popular war was carried on, sustained a siege of thirteen months' duration by sea and land, against the best disciplined and most successful troops of the age. Nor did they yield, until Ferdinand III. himself, whose standard they were defending, sent them orders to surrender. Fisson, to avoid, not the disgrace, but the mortification of yielding the fortress, left it in charge of the citizens, while he with his soldiers set sail for Tuscany. The municipal guards opened the gates to the French, and the garrison, diminished only by a few, who had fallen in fight, returned free and honoured to their native land, where Fisson preserved (and though dead, still preserves) his high reputation. There was now no war in Europe except with England, but the meeting of French and English ambassadors at Amiens to discuss the terms of peace, came to rejoice all hearts.

Thus happily ended the year 1801, when the Infant Ferdinand, grandson of the king, died at Naples, and was soon followed by his unhappy mother Clementina, a young princess, who had hardly passed her twentieth year, unfortunate as a bride and as a wife; for as a bride, detained in Austria on account of the war, she had arrived during the armistice, amidst hostile and successful armies, while her nuptials were saddened by being forced to escape with the royal family from the kingdom, surrounded by persons with

whom she had no congeniality, and now deprived of her son, she had been long sinking under a slow and lingering disease, yet preserving her senses and reason entire. Her death was lamented by the people, and threw the palace into mourning.

Before the end of that year, the astronomer Giuseppe Piazzi, from the observatory of Palermo, discovered and added to the solar system a new star, which he called *Ceres Ferdinandea*, in allusion to the plenteous harvests of Sicily, and in compliment to the king.

The conferences of peace still continued at Amiens, and the preliminaries were settled, embracing the four quarters of the world; but I will only mention that part which concerned us:—The evacuation by the French of the States of Naples and of Rome, and by the English of every post occupied by them in the Mediterranean; the recognition of the Republic of the Seven Islands; the restitution of the island of Malta to the Order of Jerusalem, which was to remain independent, a neutral territory in future wars, and, as the Order was without troops, to be garrisoned by 2000 soldiers of the King of Naples. The evacuation of the places named to be at fixed periods, and according to their distance. The treaty to include the Ottoman Porte. Both parties, as well as the potentates interested in the peace of Amiens, ratified these terms immediately, and war seemed at an end throughout Europe.

Bonaparte, too intent on settling the internal affairs of France to undertake bolder flights to increase his dominions, was desirous of peace; and therefore anxious to fulfil the preliminaries agreed upon at Amiens, he withdrew the French soldiers from the territory of Rome and Naples. This relief from the burden of their maintenance and from their tyranny, was welcomed both by the people and the sovereigns of these states; and General Murat, anxious to obtain credit for a popular measure, came to Rome to pay his respects to the Pope, and in return to be honoured by him; he then proceeded to Naples, where his reception and the fêtes for the occasion were still more splendid, because the benefit conferred had been greater, the Court more magnificent, and the kingdom larger. The people admired him for his fine person, the foreign and graceful fashion of his dress, and his fame as a soldier.

He was received with honour by Prince Francis (who was acting as Regent), and by the Royal Family, while the ministers of the Crown welcomed him in compliance with the forms of court etiquette, and because they rejoiced in the Peace: at his departure the Regent, in the name of the King, presented him with a sword; the House of Bourbon then little dreaming what destinies lay concealed in the sword of Murat.

The Russian troops left the kingdom at the same time; they had arrived by small detachments in the year 1799, to attack the Parthenopean Republic; had been augmented during the war against the Ionian Islands, and had since remained stationary, waiting the turn of events, and to be guided by circumstances. They were therefore now, after the conclusion of the peace of Amiens, recalled to Russia. Thus, the world being at peace, and the kingdom delivered from foreign troops, King Ferdinand returned to Naples from Sicily, and was received amidst rejoicings which were for the most part sincere, and not mere obedience to orders, as he was looked upon with admiration after his many reverses of fortune, and was supposed to have displayed that royal greatness which cannot be subdued. Two months later the Queen arrived from Vienna, but although the Crown had been really preserved chiefly through her means, she was less welcomed, from the remembrance of the past, and her bad reputation. The Royal Family being thus reunited and happy, a double marriage was agreed upon with the House of Spain, by the union of Prince Francis of Naples, now a widower, with Isabella Infanta of Spain, and Ferdinand, Prince of Asturias, with Marie Antoinette, Princess of Naples. A Spanish fleet arrived as a convoy to the Princess, and joined the Neapolitan fleet which was to take Prince Francis to Barcelona to receive the Princess Isabella; they sailed together, that of Naples returning with the bridal pair on the 19th October 1802. The rejoicings for the Peace, and for the return of the Prince, and the royal marriages, kept up continual feastings in the palace and the city.

Meantime the First Consul was organizing the different parts of the State. He was appointed Consul for life in France, with the power of naming his successor, and President of the Cisalpine Republics in Italy. Having already reduced these republics to

his rule, and then despotically exchanged the usages of a free government for those of passive obedience, he obliged the people to submit to new forms, but framed with a regard for justice and for the public benefit. He restored the altars, provided for the priests, established schools, passed measures for the finances, administration, and commerce, opened new roads, cut canals, and began and finished that immortal work, his Code of Laws, thus completing from its commencement the entire work of instituting a new form of civil government. France was satisfied; for the nation now enjoyed material advantages, and not as before, only images of ideal felicity never to be attained. The republican party, which was few and powerless, murmured; the adherents of the old dynasty, who were still fewer, and beneath contempt, declared the royal mantle had been usurped; but the world beheld in Bonaparte the head and climax of the Revolution. Foreign sovereigns rejoiced over the prostration of the Republic, and, little dreaming of the future, maintained that these events proved that the government of one sole ruler was a necessary condition of humanity; laying aside none of their ancient pride, however, they soon turned the hatred they had borne the Republic into rage against Bonaparte, which proved fatal to the peace of the world.

The English refused to restore the island of Malta, and this refusal, without pleading any excuse, was a proof that they contemplated renewing hostilities. But in Naples at least the people and their sovereign enjoyed the blessing of peace, and it was hoped that they had learnt a lesson from the admonitions of misfortune. But on the 11th January 1803, from causes with which I am unacquainted, although I have sought for them in the records and memoirs of cotemporary writers, appeared a royal proclamation to this effect: "Past sufferings not having sufficed to call the evil-disposed to repentance, revolutionary hopes have revived, and new machinations and conspiracies are hatched at home as well as abroad by those Neapolitans who have refused to return, despising the gracious invitation of the king, the mild voice of pardon, and the attractions of their native land. Necessity and justice, therefore, alike call on the sovereign to limit his royal clemency, and by punishing the guilty, restore our peaceful subjects to their longed for security." The king, accordingly, commanded the

Junta of State (the same tribunal which was said to have been dissolved after the peace of Florence) to expedite the trials and sentences; after which, the papers in its archives were ordered to be burnt as a sign of oblivion of the past, the office to cease, and another tribunal to be composed for the trial of treasonable offences by martial law. The trials quietly proceeded, the Junta was not dissolved, but a great collection of the *procès* was burnt, not in reality to efface the remembrance of the deeds there recorded, nor of the indignation they had excited, but to destroy the proofs of iniquitous verdicts. Posterity would have read in them a tale of barbarous cruelty towards youths, who had been put to death or banished for cutting their hair or letting their beards grow; towards others, punished for assisting at or being present during the celebration of the feasts of liberty, of condemnations ordered, or sentences changed at the pleasure of the sovereigns; and, in short, of all the horrors of despotism and the passive endurance of servitude. But though the fire has consumed the archives, their annals and the memory of man will still preserve them.

The severe edicts of the king re-awakened the spirit of party which had only been partially repressed, and excited the police to fresh acts of violence. Spies, informers, and accusers re-appeared in crowds upon the gloomy arena of the city. Sementini, Professor of Physics, while lecturing one day on electricity, promised his pupils the day after the morrow to show them the experiment of an electric battery. It happened that a youth ambitious of advancement was present in the school, and hoping to obtain merit with the Government, followed by employment, he gave information that his master intended to demonstrate how the Castle of Sant' Elmo could be taken by chemical means alone. The stupid magistrate believed him, and the school was entered by the police in the middle of the experiments; the pupils with their master were thrown into prison, and the electric battery was seized and indicted as a proof of felony. Ignorance or malice caused the *procès* to be commenced, and the prisoners were not released until five months later, when the French garrison were already returning to the city. Among those arrested was a boy of the name of Cianciulli, who had hardly completed his twelfth year, and with him his tutor.

Meantime, numerous bands of assassins, who had formerly been warriors of the Holy Faith, and were now destitute and unemployed, went about armed in the provinces; they were joined by about two hundred more who had escaped from the dungeons of Aquila, and commenced the vocation of highway robbery, plundering country houses, and villages which were not sufficiently protected. Strong columns of soldiers pursued in their steps, who added another burden and expense to the government at a time when the treasury was nearly empty; for after the spoliation of the banks, the impositions of the French army, and the ravages of the year 1799, an army had to be supported in Rome, the expedition to Tuscany, as well as the siege of Malta to be provided for, and the money paid which had been stipulated for at the peace of Florence: provisions had likewise to be supplied for the French garrison in Puglia, the rapacity of foreign diplomatists to be satisfied, the dowry provided for the marriage of the Princess, and three establishments and three courts maintained for the royal family; one in Naples for Prince Francis, another in Sicily for the king, and a third in Vienna for the queen. But, nevertheless, the finances were enabled for a considerable time to resist all this pressure by the assistance of ruinous loans, and by the resources of the minister Don Giuseppe Zurlo, who, indifferent to laws or justice, and the real advantage of the exchequer or the State, warded off present danger, like a desperate man amidst tempests, only eager to escape shipwreck. He contracted debts with the merchants of the city, with the collectors of the taxes, with the savings' banks, with the officers in the civil service, with the army, and even with the royal purse and at one time robbed the post of more than 12,000 ducats which belonged to private and needy citizens. For a time he silenced the creditors with promises and compensations by giving away public offices or promoting their interests in various ways; but at last his credit melted away with their confidence and patience, and complaints arose on all sides; the ruin of the treasury involved the ruin of the minister.

The king, always prone to anger, dismissed him in disgrace; he intended to retire to his native place, a small town of Molise, for he was himself in poverty, as he had not drawn his salary for many months; and while holding the high position of minister, was in-

debted for his maintenance to a scanty allowance from his friends. On the way to his retirement he was recalled to Naples, where he was confined in the dungeons of Castel-Nuovo; but soon afterwards, an inquiry having been made by his creditors into his administration of the public money, his conduct was found to have been honest though irregular; the disordered state of the finances had been partly owing to the royal commands, and partly had been impossible to prevent; the minister, therefore, was only so far culpable that he had retained office when success was impossible. He, therefore, was awarded a pension of 3000 ducats annually from the king, and his character was cleared; but he is charged with incapacity in an office which required exact calculation, method, and a strict adherence to laws and regulations. The office was abolished, and a council of finance again formed; the king appointed the Chevalier de' Medici vice-president, he who had shortly before been alternating between court favour and disgrace; but now his rival, General Acton, grown old, surfeited with fortune, tired of cabal, a husband and father, no longer offered an impediment to the advance of Medici, who, since he had lost the prestige of wonder and novelty, had become like other men; while the queen, in mature age, oppressed with the anxieties of a throne, or dedicated to the serious cares of government, had ceased to value the arts and studied efforts of the courtiers to please her. Nothing is a greater proof of human littleness than the scene presented by a court where violent passions are excited, and execrable crimes committed for the very object which in a short time, under a change of circumstances, calls forth ridicule and shame.

By the new measures passed in the Council of Finance, the treasury was saved from bankruptcy. It must however be remembered, that by the return of the royal family, the three courts were now united in one, and the larger expenses were already provided for, the lesser diminished, the taxes increased, and credit restored. The economical capacity of Medici was for the first time called forth, and it was then conjectured what afterwards proved true, that he was a better banker than financier, or rather, that he was more fitted to spend than create wealth. In order to liquidate the debt to the banks, the property of the State was first assigned for payment, next that of the Church, and lastly, the endowments of



the banks themselves. The property of the Crown, and the ample allowance for the royal household remained untouched, and thus those who robbed the banks were not called upon to subscribe anything for their restoration.

Hardly had the Peace and the measures of internal policy begun to revive the hope of an improvement in the condition of the country, before it was rumoured that England, who had from the first been backward in fulfilling her engagements at the peace of Amiens, had broken them altogether by retaining the island of Malta, and had proclaimed war again with France. The First Consul, that invincible captain, now at the head of a people never averse to war, accepted the challenge, and both sides prepared armies and plans of campaign. A fresh army was stationed on the coast at Boulogne, threatening England with an invasion, which would have been difficult and would have cost much blood, but was no feint on the part of Bonaparte, nor impossible to achieve. The troops which had evacuated Puglia returned, exposing the kingdom to renewed expenses and dangers. The Order of Malta, who had assisted the English in the siege of that island, and whose hope of dominion had risen with the Treaty of Amiens, but who were now undeceived, sought another asylum, and obtained it from the King of Naples, in Catania, a city of Sicily. The Grand Master Tommasi, elected by the Pontiff, celebrated the restoration of their sovereignty with religious rites at Messina, in the presence of a large number of bailiffs and knights of the order, and after appointing the various officers, restored the form of government as of old, but without their former power and territory. A splendid fleet, and a convoy by land, conducted the knights to their new residence in Catania, where they hoped to remain; but greater hopes and greater disappointments were in store for them, as the Order was destined to die a natural death from changes in the constitutions of kingdoms, and from the general growth of civilisation, although it seemed to perish by war and violence.

The hostilities between France and England broke forth, as in private enmities, in base and nefarious acts. The English Government were not ashamed to conspire for the death of Bonaparte, with a handful of French refugees, nor did Moreau, a distinguished French general, hesitate to consent to the iniquitous proceedings

of the conspirators, whilst the Duke d'Enghien, of the blood-royal, residing at Ettenheim, near the Rhine, prepared to enter France in arms. But the plots were discovered, and some of the guilty condemned to death, others to exile, among whom was Moreau, while the young d'Enghien, thinking himself secure on neutral territory, was surprised in the night by a strong body of French gens-d'armes, conducted to France, and there executed by the iniquitous verdict of a court-martial. The power of the First Consul was increased, but with a stain on his reputation; for neither his genius, nor the ingenuity of others in his defence, can justify that evil deed, which will always form a hateful accompaniment to the great actions of his life. Other names are mentioned as implicated in the same deed of infamy, which is even charged to General Murat, then governor of Paris; but time, which clears up all doubtful points, in this instance centres the guilt in the First Consul, and in those who were the executioners of his will, but whose insignificant names disappear from history, leaving him, the prominent actor, alone upon the hideous scene.

Bonaparte, who turned all public events, whether evil or good, to his own advantage, argued from the dangers with which he had been menaced, the necessity of consolidating his power by making it a part of the constitution of the State; therefore, at his private request, the Senate publicly demanded that he should be made Emperor, and he was elected by the unanimous vote of the French people. The Republic was thus changed into a monarchy, and without the limits acknowledged necessary by the age; for the new crown was to be hereditary and absolute, and almost equal (in its promise if not in its fruits) with that which the people had buried beneath a heap of ruins, but which was now resuscitated and obeyed by that same fickle and volatile nation, who thus in the cycle of a few years passed through as many vicissitudes as other nations undergo in centuries. Pope Pius VII. was invited to assist at the coronation of the new emperor in Paris, and went thither in state befitting his rank and the dignity of the ceremony. While blamed by those who could not perceive the wisdom of this measure, the pope was commended by all who comprehended the policy of Rome; for the consecration, and legal confirmation of the Empire by the Church, recalled times when the

papal power was at its height, and diminished the sovereign power of the people and the independent right of the elected prince. The act was therefore unfortunate for Bonaparte, and the first retrograde movement towards that past which was to prove his ruin. The people, however, applauded, for they were glad to secure so strong a support in their new state, which had until then been menaced and declining. Foreign potentates, nevertheless, refused to acknowledge the title and legitimacy of the emperor.

These events in France strengthened the idea that if the century just ended had been destructive of the old, the new century was to rebuild the ruins. Kings themselves, anxious to make all the reparation in their power for the aid they had lent in the work, endeavoured to revive the institution of the Company of Jesus, which had many members and followers in every part of Europe. Towards the conclusion of the nineteenth century, several devout persons had met together in Rome, in the oratory of the Caravita; and while observing the rules of St. Ignatius, called themselves the Company of the Faith of Jesus. One of their members, Niccoli Paccanari, a Tyrolese, young and enterprising, followed Pope Pius VI., then a prisoner, to Sienna, obtained his sanction for the Society of the Caravita, and was by him empowered to proceed to Dillinghen, in Germany, there to concert with another Society of the Heart of Jesus, the means to spread themselves throughout Europe, awaken the consciences of men to the rules of Loyola, and smooth the way for the return of the Jesuits. He departed on his mission, and obtaining access to the Archduchess Marianne of Austria, a pious and zealous princess, with her aid founded a convent of nuns, with the rules of St. Ignatius, called the Delight of Jesus. By degrees they enlarged the sphere of their intrigues, and spreading their opinions, gained over so many devout persons, that they were able to establish three colleges in the pope's dominions, two in Venice, three in France, one in Germany, and one in England, with many convents of the Delight of Jesus. He proceeded to Rome in the suite of the Archduchess Marianne, and by an abuse of the ecclesiastical law was made a priest, and appointed superior of the oratory of the Caravita, and of the monastery of the Heart of Jesus in Dillinghen, and became the founder of colleges and convents; and as he had assumed

the religious habit of the Company of Jesus, was held in reverence and in the odour of sanctity.

But the Emperor of the French recognised the germ of Jesuitism under these new forms, and forbade the three colleges in the empire. Paccanari broke out into disorderly conduct in Rome, and his delinquencies having been proved against him, he was accused of sacrilege before the Inquisition, and was punished by fourteen years' imprisonment; the archduchess returned to her dominions ashamed of her folly, and the societies of both sexes being repressed, nothing remained but their recollection to serve as a warning that the time for founding such institutions anew is past. The Jesuit Angelini was more prudent than Paccanari. He arrived from Russia, and humbly petitioned for an interview with the pope, to speak with him concerning the restoration of the Company of Jesus, but only in those kingdoms where it was desired by the sovereign; Pius VII. accordingly, on the 30th July 1804, answered by a pontifical brief in these words: "Wishing to second the desire of His majesty Ferdinand IV., King of the Two Sicilies, and to assist the improvement of morals, by the progress of national education, we, extending to that kingdom the brief issued in 1801 for Russia, place all the colleges and schools established in the Two Sicilies, under the Company of Jesus, and the rule of St. Ignatius." After this Brief, several colleges sprung up in both Naples and Sicily, which, from their unassuming appearance, passed almost unobserved.

Although the Council of Finance was restoring the public treasury by credit, the revenue was not sufficient for the demands upon it; they therefore proposed, and the king signified his approbation of a new tax upon all orders of the State; declared a million, but believed three, though impossible to calculate with any precision from the disordered state of statistics, and the confusion which reigned in the system of finance; it was further promised only to be temporary, but became permanent. By two other laws, the duties upon the export of silk, and that upon metals in bar or in coin was abolished, but these wise laws were of small advantage, because the time they lasted was too short to bear fruit. They were the only measures during these six years of Ferdinand's reign, which concerned the public interest, amidst

countless decrees passed to gratify revenge or to maintain the passive obedience of the subject, and secure the despotic power of the sovereign.

The Neapolitans were suffering from this tyranny, when, as if to increase their misery, the land was shaken by an earthquake, hardly less terrible than that described in the second Book of this History. The day of the disaster was the 26th July, at eleven minutes past two in the morning. The centre of the movement was Frosolone, a mountain of the Apennines, between the Terra di Lavoro and the county of Molise. The ground was convulsed from Isernia to Ielzia, a distance of forty miles in length, and fifteen miles in breadth, from Monterodoni to Cerreto; therefore six hundred square miles, one side of the square being formed by the long chain of the Monti del Matese. Sixty-one cities or towns were scattered over this space, sheltering upwards of forty thousand inhabitants, and out of all this number, two cities alone, San Giovanni in Galdo and Castropignano remained standing, though both were at the foot of the Monti del Matese; the number of persons who perished amounted to six thousand, all killed in different ways, and as terrible as in the Calabrian earthquakes. The movements varied, and proceeded less from the inclination of the ground, than the nature of the soil on which the buildings stood. The city of Isernia, which was a mile long, and only the width of a single street, fell one half, namely, the whole side facing the east, leaving the rest entire; the ground cracked like net-work, and in some places the fissures were so wide that the land was submerged, and flames burst forth, while the top of Monte Frosolone shone almost like a fiery meteor. The inhabitants of that unhappy region had felt an extraordinary lassitude in the morning of the 26th, and their sense of smell and their breathing had been annoyed by a stench like sulphur. They remarked at four in the afternoon that the sky was overcast, and that the clouds flew rapidly past, as if driven by a furious hurricane, whilst not a breath of air was stirring below; but at sunset a fierce north wind arose, succeeded by the shock of the earthquake, and a terrible rumbling noise. The first shock was slight, and unnoticed by many, but three others followed one another in the short space of twenty seconds, always increasing in violence and producing the ruin and damage described. The county of

Molise had its tales of wonder as well as Calabria ; and as Eloisa Basili survived eleven days under the rubbish, Marianna de' Franceschi, a beautiful young lady, in the district of the Guardia Reggia, who had hardly completed her twentieth year, lay buried ten days and eight hours ; but whereas Basili continued melancholy the rest of her days, and died early, this lady recovered her health and spirits, and lived long in the enjoyment of a husband and children.

That earthquake was felt in the most remote parts of the kingdom, and crossing the sea, in the islands of Procida and Ischia ; Naples received a severe shock, so that several houses fell, many were cracked, and none or few uninjured. The Government did nothing for the relief of the sufferers, either from want of will or owing to the impoverished state of the exchequer. The shocks continued, but without further mischief, until the end of March, and eruptions from Vesuvius accompanied the earthquake. It was evident that they proceeded from electricity, which affected the soil wherever, as in Molise, there were the remains or materials of extinct volcanos. The 26th July was the day consecrated to St. Anna, and the people therefore believed it to be a miracle of the saint which prevented the city of Naples from falling entirely in ruins.

About this time Pius VII. returned to Rome, and soon afterwards Bonaparte came to Italy to place the Lombard crown on his own head, and to change the Cisalpine Republic into the kingdom of Italy. Solemn ceremonies followed at Milan, where all the kings friendly to France, and the Italian princes (however mortified at this new kingdom, and at the name which alarmed them for the loss of their dominions) sent ambassadors to express their pleasure at the event. The Neapolitan representative at Paris, the Marquis del Gallo, was in attendance on the emperor at Milan, but the Prince di Cardito was sent as ambassador extraordinary from Naples, and delivered his message and congratulations to Bonaparte in the court circle. As it chanced, a few days before, Bonaparte had intercepted letters, and received notice of intrigues carrying on between England and the Queen of the Sicilies against France ; therefore regardless of the solemnity of the occasion, he replied to the ambassador of Naples in a manner offensive to the dignity of all present, as well as to his own as an emperor and

king : “ Tell your queen that I am aware of her intrigues against France, and that she will be cursed by her own sons, because as a punishment for her breach of promise, I will not leave her or her house as much land as will cover their tombs.” His haughty words and stern demeanour terrified all present, and Cardito was struck dumb ; but the emperor, resuming his wonted courtesy and charm of manner, restored calm to the assembly.

The preparations for war were in earnest. England menaced by the camp at Boulogne, and alarmed by the dangers of invasion, yet confident, like a great nation, in her own strength, waited ready for the encounter with this celebrated captain and his army ; prepared to meet them, though uncertain of victory. William Pitt had returned to office, and, well acquainted with the poverty of European potentates, and the avarice of their cabinets, he considered how he might carry on a war of extermination against France with the money of England and the blood of the foreigner : this scheme was readily acquiesced in by the absolute governments of Europe, as under a despotism, the lives of subjects have no guarantee, and are only considered as forming part of the power and resources of the State. By means of subsidies from England, which equalled and even exceeded the expenses of the war, Austria, Russia, and Sweden, joined in an alliance against France, whilst Russia was making her own bargain as in a market ; Naples caught eagerly at the proposal, and in a less covetous spirit than the rest, because her hatred was more intense. The Emperor of the French received information of the projected war, by intercepted letters and by spies, but feigning ignorance, he hoped to break the league and still compass his descent upon England ; hatred, revenge, and glory, equal to the greatness of the danger, goaded on his haughty spirit, ambitious of accomplishing single-handed all the enterprises which have conferred renown and honour on the greatest captains of antiquity.

The allied sovereigns hoped to commence with an army of Swedes, Russians, and English, in the States of Hanover ; thence to proceed to Holland, and carry on the war upon the ancient boundaries of France ; to enter Bavaria with an Austrian and Russian army, and advancing, gain possession of the entrances to the Black Forest ; to enter Italy with an Austrian army by the

States of Milan, whilst an army of Neapolitans, Russians, and English, were to advance by Tuscany and Genoa into Piedmont and upon the Var. This army and the Swedish contingent were to act on the offensive: the army of the centre, in Bavaria, was to remain on the defensive, to give time for the Russians to arrive in Germany, and to form a second line to the Germans. The most distinguished generals of these kingdoms, with the King of Sweden, the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of Russia, and the Archdukes Ferdinand, Charles, and John, were to assist in the conflict, some to fight, and others to animate the combatants by their presence. Among the leaders, General Mack was loudest in his assurances that he would defend Bavaria until the arrival of the Russian forces. In the beginning of September, the armies were all to move contemporaneously, as had been stipulated for by England, as an imperative condition, before granting her subsidies; for the preparations of Bonaparte against her were to be completed that month, the season most favourable for crossing the Channel in small boats.

Upon the shores of the Channel, three hundred leagues distant from Bavaria, was assembled the largest force France possessed, so that the Allies thought to conquer a line of unprotected country. But that mighty chief had already foreseen the danger and provided the remedy, by so disposing his own forces and those of his allies (a few petty Princes of Germany), as to arrive suddenly upon the Rhine, and proceed thence to the district where the enemy was expecting an easy conquest. He resigned the enterprise against England, and seeking a compensation in glory and revenge elsewhere, withdrew his troops from the shores of the ocean, and, early in September, sent numerous squadrons to the different places he had selected.

He himself hastened to Paris to raise fresh troops and prepare other movements, and as he departed, promised victory. Hostilities were not yet declared, but at that very time, the 3d September 1805, the Emperor Francis, in an address to the armies, announced his warlike intentions; and on the 7th of the same month the army, led by General Mack, though under the nominal command of the Archduke Ferdinand, passed the confines of Bavaria, crossing the Salz at Burghausen, and driving the



Bavarian army and king before them into Franconia. But the allies of Austria—the Russians, English, Swedes, and Neapolitans, still delayed; Austria had entered the field alone; for when in misfortune, she has ever been remarkable for the constancy of her sovereign and the loyalty of her subjects; she therefore justly boasts of great success in war and politics, and that all the obstinacy of the English and vain-glory of the Russians is not worth half so much as her tenacity of purpose.

The hostile troops were marching by many roads to join one another; in Holland, in Italy, upon the Danube, and on the sea; while, on the other hand, four large fleets had been equipped for the hoped-for descent upon England—three French, at Toulon, Rochefort, and Brest, and one by her ally, Spain, at Cadiz; they were only waiting for favourable winds to join company, and for the order to go forth and conquer, or engage the English fleet, which was cruising in the Channel and along the coast of France. The admiral of the French was Villeneuve; of the Spaniards, Gravina, a Sicilian in the service of Charles IV.; and of the English, Nelson. The French fleet consisted of eighty ships of the line, and a great many frigates and smaller vessels; and the enemy had almost an equal number. Bonaparte, when he was planning the enterprise against England, had given instructions to the fleets to leave the ports, and as a stratagem to deceive the enemy, sail for the Antilles, where they were to succour the French possessions there exposed to danger, and to seize or destroy those of England; he hoped to draw away many of the enemy's ships in pursuit, and thus whether conquering or conquered in a distant battle, keep the coast clear for his 150,000 soldiers to land in Great Britain. These instructions and commands were obeyed by Villeneuve, who accordingly left Toulon with twelve ships of the line and other vessels, and was joined by four Spanish ships; and on the 11th April of that year, the Admiral with fourteen men-of-war, six frigates, and four brigs, sailed for the Antilles. He arrived there without falling in with the enemy; for Nelson, uncertain of the movements of Villeneuve, was cruising about the Mediterranean, and afterwards in the wide ocean, and along the coasts of Europe, and only turned his bows towards the Antilles a month later than the French Admiral, who

meanwhile had captured several ships, strengthened himself by additional vessels of war, and improved his own condition, while weakening that of the enemy. Although he had performed less than his means and expectations would have justified, he was returning triumphant to Europe, with his prows turned in the direction of Rochefort ; but on the 22d July he met and was attacked in the midst of the ocean by the English Admiral Calder, who had with him fifteen men of war : either from want of concert in the French ships, or the superior skill of the English, Villeneuve, though stronger by five men-of-war, was beaten, and had to seek shelter with the shattered vessels which remained to him in the ports of Ferrol, from whence he proceeded to Cadiz. The enterprise against England had meantime been unexpectedly abandoned, and the importance of a battle at sea diminished ; but the reputation of Villeneuve had suffered. He had forty-six ships at his command between men-of-war and smaller vessels ; and believing Admiral Nelson, who lay before Cadiz, to be greatly inferior, he thought it would be an easy task to conquer him, and that a victory over the greatest man of England, and of the age, would restore his name, after the disasters suffered on the ocean and in Egypt. He accordingly left the port in high spirits on the 19th October, and Nelson and Villeneuve sailed parallel with one another for two days, each eagerly watching their opportunity, as well as the movements of the enemy, to commence the attack. On the day of the 21st they met in the waters of Trafalgar, where a bloody battle ensued, which was remarkable for the equal gallantry and valour displayed on both sides.

The English with forty ships vanquished a more powerful enemy by their bold manœuvres ; Villeneuve proposed to give battle in parallel lines, but Nelson advancing in column, broke the French order of battle at two points, and with all his ships, engaging only part of the enemy's forces at a time, the disadvantage of his inferior numbers disappeared. Parallel lines by land or by sea belong to the infancy of military science ; they may be useful when a commander has the largest force and space for manœuvring, and even advantageous if he has to advance towards the enemy ; but thus to await his approach is dangerous. The French lost the day from imperfect science ; but so far as martial

courage, discipline, patience, and desperation could avail, they performed that day all that could be expected from men. The Redoubtable lost 522 dead and wounded, out of a crew of 640 men. The Achille caught fire, and while burning continued the fight; the pumps were leaking and all means of safety lost, the batteries one behind the other on fire, the masts and yards burning, the explosion of the powder-magazine inevitable, and three of the enemy's ships were seen retreating, when the defenders of the Achille, perceiving the dreadful fate before them, endeavoured to save their lives by swimming, while some clung to pieces of wood thrown into the sea. A noble sight now presented itself, for the English went out in little boats round the burning ship to assist and pick up those who were escaping, risking their own lives to save the French, who were no longer enemies but fellow-creatures in distress. Thus a few escaped, and the rest were blown up with the vessel when the powder exploded.

The Spanish Admiral Gravina fought with a prowess equal to that of the most celebrated heroes of antiquity, and although mortally wounded, remained upon the deck of his vessel, giving his orders in the midst of the danger. Although dying, he was happier than Villeneuve, who was on the flag-ship the Bucentaur, with her masts broken, her sails torn, and rudder lost, immovable and disabled, for her artillery was destroyed or overturned, a few of his men yet alive, but many more lying dead or wounded, though he himself was unscathed. In his misery he tried to procure a pinnace to carry him to some other ship still engaged in the fight; but the pinnaces belonging to his vessel had been destroyed in the battle, and to his unspeakable agony, he found himself abandoned as certain prey, unable to fight or die, except by his own hand,—an act unworthy of a commander in battle. The Bucentaur was captured with sixteen other vessels, and the Admiral made prisoner, with as many as were upon these ships. Nor was the victory unmixed joy for the English, for they had seen two thousand of their brave comrades killed and their ships shattered; while of the vessels they had taken, two alone were in a condition to be towed into port. But far beyond all these losses, was the death of Admiral Nelson, the greatest naval captain of the age, from his superior skill, courage, and success: he was killed in

the flag-ship the *Victory*, by a ball from a swivel, happy because victory was at that moment certain. Gravina died of his wounds in the Port of Cadiz, and Villeneuve, on his return from his imprisonment in England, when landing in France, put an end to his own life, urged to this deed by shame at his successive defeats. Such was the tragical battle of Trafalgar, fought in an unhappy hour, and having no influence on the war.

The death of Nelson invites me to complete the history of Lady Hamilton. After her return to England from the embassy to Naples in the year 1800, she resided in a country house commodiously situated for the studies of Sir William Hamilton, and in the company of Admiral Nelson, who had retired for a season to repose from his labours and wounds. Lady Hamilton at that time gave birth to a child, who was called after Nelson. During his absence, when summoned to the command of the great fleet, at a time when England was exposed to danger, Hamilton died, leaving his widow rich in money and land, and Nelson presented her with a beautiful villa, with extensive pleasure-grounds, where she lived, watching over her little girl. But on his death, left alone, and exposed to terrible reverses of fortune (as her right to the property was disputed by the heirs of Sir William Hamilton and Nelson), despised and disliked, she could not endure the change; and removed with her wealth to Holland, accompanied by her child. But her extravagant love of luxury and pleasure continuing as unrestrained as ever, she wasted her ill-gotten riches, and died in a poor lodging near Calais in the year 1815. Her daughter lived in obscurity an object of pity; and the great man's guilty passion for Lady Hamilton would have been forgotten in the histories of Aboukir and of Trafalgar, had it not been associated with the unhappy fate and undying memories of Cirillo, Pagano, and thousands more.

The battle of Trafalgar was celebrated by the Government of Naples, as the enemy of France, and animated the spirits of all hostile to Bonaparte, who were in no way discouraged by his bold declaration, that he would be in Vienna in a month from that time; for they had learnt the approach of the Russians, and believed them to be invincible. The fate of the armies could be as little conjectured as known, and Austria therefore entreated the

allied sovereigns to hasten their movements; while the Emperor of the French on his side made ready for defence and attack, and wrote urgent instructions to St. Cyr, commander-in-chief of the troops quartered in the kingdom of Naples, the principal heads of which were as follows:—

“A new war in Germany is preparing new fatigues and new glories for France. The King of Naples, our ally by treaties, but our enemy by his own perversity, will attack you in Puglia; nor will he go forth to the conflict alone, but with English and Russians already prepared in Sicily and Corfu. General, dispose your forces for war; the fatal blow will vibrate through Germany, and from thence the fate of Europe will be decided.” . . . . .

After entering into an explanation of his grand conception for the conquest of Bavaria, and for taking the metropolis of the Austrian empire, he continued:—

“Be prepared either to seize on the kingdom of Naples before the English and Russian armies arrive, or to defend yourself from their forces when attacked. In the first case, you will wait for the order to move; in the second, you will act according to your own discretion. I still hope to keep peace with the King of Naples, that I may not have a distant war and enemies in Italy, to fight both in flank and rear.

“But if you should be the first to commence war, advance upon Naples, expel the existing government, and disband the Neapolitan army; form battalions of all the volunteers and partisans of the French, who, from the tyranny they have had to endure, must be many and ardent; and dispose these forces so as to stop the disembarkation of English or Russians, or if disembarked, to defeat them.

“You will demolish the fortresses as they fall in your hands, and prepare mines under the castles of the city.

“You will provision the fortress of Pescara to stand a long siege, and you will give the command to General Regnier.

“This fortress, important if you find it necessary to invade the kingdom, will become of still greater moment if you have to withstand an army of English, Russians, and Neapolitans superior to your own.

“You will then contest the ground inch by inch, to prevent the

enemy arriving in the rear of our army of Italy, before the certain defeat of the Austrian arms in Germany have caused the recal of Prince Charles from the Adige and Mincio.

“The part assigned you, if you have to act on the offensive, is to conquer the kingdom and keep it; if attacked, to hinder the enemy on his march towards the Po.”

Upon the receipt of these despatches, General St. Cyr disposed his army to act either way, and waited the commands of the emperor, and the course of events. An order however arrived, to withdraw the French troops from the kingdom, as the King of Naples had confirmed the truce of amity, by a new treaty concluded at Paris between the minister Talleyrand for France, and the Marquis del Gallo for Naples, on the 21st September 1805. By this treaty, the king engaged to keep neutral during the present war, and to maintain his rights as a neutral State with all his forces by land and by sea; to prevent the landing of soldiers or the entrance of ships hostile to France into his ports; and promised and pledged himself not to confide the command of the Neapolitan army or of any fortress to a foreigner: and on his part, the emperor of the French engaged to relieve the kingdom, within thirty days, from the army of St. Cyr.

The ratification followed on the 9th October, and General St. Cyr that same day left the kingdom by the shortest road, eager to unite his battalions with those of the army of Italy, already engaged upon the Adige. The Neapolitans rejoiced in the neutrality which preserved them from a war, and relieved them from French garrisons, and the burden of their maintenance. They were, therefore, praising the wisdom of the king, when they heard that by the Treaty of Vienna (the Duke di Campochiaro acting for Naples), he had joined the league of Austria, Russia, and England, against France, and had ratified the treaty on the 26th October; seventeen days after his ratification of the act of neutrality. Thus the King of Naples had pledged himself at the same time to peace in Paris, and to war in Vienna; yet these acts of turpitude and meanness were called political wisdom and prudence!

Soon afterwards, on the 19th November, a number of sails were seen nearing the Bay, and eleven thousand Russians, two thousand Montenegrins, and a small body of six thousand English, landed

in Naples. The king, after bidding these troops welcome, placed his own army under the command of the Russian General Lascey, who, inexperienced in war, yet full of arrogance, boasted that victory was certain; and in the presence of the Court, when receiving a rich sword from the hand of the king in token of supreme command, he brandished it aloft, declaring, that he would not lay it down, until he had hurled the base Corsican from his usurped throne; for which boast he was secretly ridiculed by those around, including the king. The councils of war began; by the Treaty of Vienna, the king was pledged to furnish forty thousand soldiers; but as he had only twelve thousand infantry, and two thousand cavalry in readiness, he ordered a fresh levy of men and horses. The French ambassador in Naples, Alquier, was scoffed at as a representative of peace, while the witness of real hostility. After offering advice to which the ministers of the crown refused to listen, followed by menaces which were despised, he took down the arms of France, and having asked and obtained his dismissal, left Naples. It was agreed, in the councils of war, that a column of Russians and Neapolitans should be sent to the Marches and the Legations, and wait there until another column of English, crossing the States of Rome and Tuscany, should unite with the first on the banks of the Po; from whence General Lascey could either advance into Piedmont, and support the party of the king there, whose adherents were already in revolt, or engage the rear of Massena's army. Time was pressing, for, as is usual with allied armies, the English and Russians arrived later than they had promised. Naples, therefore, without delay raised a levy of soldiers by conscription. Meantime, Bonaparte was defeating the Austrian armies in Germany, and Massena in Italy was carrying on the war with a courage worthy of his name, while Prince Charles, considering the disasters of the empire, and the necessity of keeping the road for retreat open, changed his plan of operations from the offensive, assumed the defensive, and withdrew his camps. Lascey, and the English General Greig, therefore, quitting their agreeable sojourn in the palace, encamped, the first in the Abruzzi and at San Germano, and the second at Sessa and Itri. The city and the kingdom was thus prepared for war, unwelcome to all, as it had so often been the precursor of disgrace and ruin.

## CHAPTER IV.

## FINAL EVENTS OF THIS PERIOD.

1805—1806.

THE words of the Emperor Napoleon, that the fate of the whole of that year's campaign depended solely on the result of the war in Germany, were verified. Whilst Mack, in proud security, guarded the Black Forest, the French legions were advancing with such order and exact calculation of time and distance, that in the first days of October, they found themselves in the positions Napoleon had determined; for, avoiding pre-occupied posts, and shaping their course between the Tyrol and the German army, he ranged his troops in order of battle on the left wing of the enemy's lines, and thus secured the victory before beginning the attack. It is a difficult operation to turn the front of an army at its flank; but had the German general been any other than Mack, and acquainted with the art of war, he might have executed the manœuvre, and presented himself entire to the enemy; but as he had for many days past refused to rely on the information received of the French movements, he was now taken by surprise, and in his perplexity, altered the position of his troops, threw them into disorder, and separated them; the whole French army, therefore, as it approached, encountered detached bodies of the Germans, unable to retire at the right moment, or to aid one another, because in this change, Mack had neglected every principle of science. On the 6th October, the fighting commenced, and lasted five days; in which time, the French were always victorious; not, indeed, from greater valour, but from superiority of numbers, and by opposing their troops in close order to the divided forces of the enemy. The fortress of Memmingen succumbed in one day; whole legions laid down their arms; artillery, ammunition, and well-filled magazines



fell into the hands of the enemy ; and though a considerable body of soldiers had been collected in the fortress and vicinity of Ulm, under Mack and the Archduke Ferdinand, they now found themselves almost surrounded by the French. Such was the unhappy dilemma to which the name and valour of the Germans was reduced by the incapacity of one man.

By successive engagements, the most sanguinary of which was that of Elchingen, Marshals Soult and Marmont, and Prince Murat, occupied the approaches to Ulm, and closed up all access to the fortress. The Archduke Ferdinand, fearing the disgrace of being surrounded and sent prisoner to France, left the place secretly ; and, with four squadrons of horse, riding by deserted roads, he endeavoured to elude or surprise the French posts ; and succeeded, by rapid marches and bold rencounters, in effecting his escape with a few followers into Bohemia. General Mack, in Ulm, was awaiting the attacks of the enemy, when a herald of peace arrived, urging him to avoid a useless and desperate struggle. This was succeeded by a parley, in which the German commander, as unskilful in his management of treaties as in war, surrendered the fortress, with himself, his garrison, and the army encamped around, as well as twenty-eight thousand infantry, ten thousand horse, sixty cannon, forty standards, and well-stored magazines. By another capitulation, the corps of General Verneck, which had been defeated and surrounded by the legions of Prince Murat, laid down their arms ; and by a third capitulation, a considerable number of gun carriages, under a convoy of infantry and cavalry, likewise yielded to the arms of Murat. Of all the emperor's lieutenants, Murat was the chief favourite of fortune : and thus, in the brief interval of one fortnight (for this reason called the War of Fifteen Days), a German army of a hundred thousand soldiers had been conquered, and sixty thousand prisoners taken, among whom were twenty-nine generals, the commander-in-chief, and two thousand officers, while some thousands had been killed or wounded ; many had dispersed, and fifteen thousand had retreated to Vienna in detachments, or singly, to join the Russians, who had already appeared in Moravia. The rejoicings in the French camp were great ; the emperor sent the Senate of France an account of the wonders which had been performed, and besides an army of pri-

soners, added eighty standards, two hundred cannon, and the camp equipage, to grace their triumph. As this great victory had only cost France two thousand soldiers, and, therefore, there were few to mourn, the satisfaction appeared general, and the last hopes of freedom were gradually vanishing.

Mack returned to Vienna, where he was sentenced to imprisonment for life, and ended his days in a fortress in Bohemia. Though he was the same general who had commanded the Neapolitan army in 1798, even his final acts and the disgrace he sustained at Ulm cannot serve to exonerate the Neapolitans from blame in the eyes of the world for the unhappy result of his earlier campaign ; so far has the fame of their disasters covered the infamy of their leader.

The war in Italy was only second in importance : Marshal Massena conducted it for the French, Prince Charles for the Germans ; but the fate of both was connected with, and was dependent on, that of the war in Germany. For, if Bonaparte had been conquered or detained on the Rhine, Prince Charles might perhaps have reconquered Italy ; but as chance determined otherwise, and the Emperor of the French, the conqueror on the Danube and the Inn, was on his road to Vienna, the Austrian general had only the disagreeable duty left him of delaying the advance of the enemy, and beating a retreat. Such was the task assigned the greater captain of the House of Austria, who, for his merits and high reputation, ranks among the first in Europe. At the termination of a long suspension of arms on the 18th October 1805, Marshal Massena crossed the Adige with a large army, and waited the progress of Bonaparte until the 29th, when he gave battle between San Michele and San Martino, and conquered. The battle of Caldiero followed next, in which the French were successful, but so sanguinary was the engagement, that a truce was agreed upon to bury their dead. A German legion under General Hillinger was attacked, conquered and surrounded by the enemy, and forced to lay down their arms. The city of Vicenza, which had been fortified by the Germans, was taken by the French, and afforded a triumph in prisoners, arms, and standards, besides the acquisition of abundant stores. After an engagement at San Pietro in Gru, the French crossed the Brenta ; on the following day, the 6th Novem-

16

ber, they passed over the Piave, and some days later the Tagliamento, without meeting with any opposition. Trieste having been taken, the Prince de Rohan was cut off in the Tyrol, and trying to force a passage through the French was totally defeated, and being surrounded by greater numbers, yielded himself prisoner with six thousand foot and a thousand horse; the city of Laybach opened its gates to the conqueror, and here the war of Italy terminated; for the army of Massena, under the name of the eighth corps-d'armée, formed the extreme right of the great army, and the army of Prince Charles was amalgamated with the German troops around Vienna. The French had had constant good fortune in every encounter. They had taken fifteen thousand prisoners, arms, and standards, and revelled in all the pride of victory; they had, indeed, fought valiantly, but neither valour nor ability were wanting on the side of their opponents, whose career had been checked by the disasters of another and a distant war.

Bonaparte having conquered Bavaria, and already learnt the arrival of the Russians in Moravia, drew up his plan for the prosecution of the campaign; he collected his legions in Monaco, and sent them in various directions upon a new base, whence, later on, by moving them in convergent lines, all might point in the direction of Vienna. He roused the spirits of his soldiers by reviews, where the word liberty, which had been a magic word for the French during fifteen past years, was already superseded by the words glory, country, and Bonaparte. The troops of Würtemberg and Baden joined the French, and fresh troops arrived from France; eighty thousand soldiers, therefore, set out for Bavaria. The remains of the Austrian army hastened their retreat, and the rear-guard were often captured or beaten; but on the 28th October, the first column of Russians arrived in Austria, on the banks of the Inn; they consisted of a few battalions and squadrons, led by their commander-in-chief, Kutusow, distinguished in the wars of Russia, an insolent braggart, who, certain of victory, despised the French, and still more the Germans, and who, either on principle or by his native arrogance, boasted of this to his subordinates.

Believing the line of the Inn weak, he encamped behind the Ens, and although increased by a second column, he quitted the

camp to wait the approach of the enemy on the heights of Amstetten, which commanded and formed one of the defences of the city of Vienna. Attacked and defeated at Amstetten, he abandoned the field, and crossing the Danube, left Vienna an easy prey to the conqueror. The Emperor Francis, therefore, quitted the metropolis with his family, wisely publishing an edict, in which he exhorted his people not to attempt a resistance which would be useless, and only entail destruction on themselves (from which they were warned by the example of other kingdoms), but to submit to the conqueror, while maintaining their attachment to their country, to their independence, and to the sovereign given them by God. Those who only study the constitutions of Austria, and judge of her by her treatment of the countries she has conquered, would conclude that her subjects are unhappy and discontented ; but all who, by a residence in Austria-*Proper*, are enabled to form a truer conception of the character of the sovereign, and the character of the people, will perceive the paternal attachment shown by the former, and the filial reliance placed in him by the latter ; that the police, though in too great numbers, are just ; the criminal code, though barbarous, is yet fair ; the punishments, though severe, are well adapted to the sluggish nature of the people, not to mention the pains taken by the magistrates to promote their happiness, poverty relieved, competency everywhere, and life full of enjoyment, while numerous municipal institutions form the foundation of future political liberty ; they will then cease to wonder at seeing a people, blessed in so many relations of life, ready to volunteer their services at the voice of their emperor, who invites them as a father. To this feeling of sympathy between the subjects and the prince, may be attributed the wonderful fact, how in past times the people bore the burden of such great armies, and so many disasters, and how at the present moment harmony between the subjects and their rulers exists in Austria alone throughout all Europe.<sup>1</sup> For an absolute Government, when that of a

<sup>1</sup> This statement concerning Austria in 1834, almost sounds like a satire to those acquainted with Austria in 1858, and would convey an erroneous impression to all unacquainted with the political condition of the empire. General Colletta gives

the estimate which a foreigner resident in Vienna before 1848 would naturally form. The capital was the petted child of Austrian despotism, where alone, with the exception of the Tyrol (influenced by its attachment to the Roman Catholic Church),

father or of a prince who is a philanthropic reformer, may, as long as the necessity for passive obedience continues, produce a state of things tolerable and even happy, whereas to be under the despotic rule of a foreign sovereign, is the last depth of misery to which a people can be reduced.

The French entered Vienna on the 18th November, and, in consequence of the edict of the Emperor Francis, were received almost like friends; the Viennese troops retained the posts within the city, and even guarded the quarters where the hostile Emperor was lodged. That same day, the French van-guard crossed the Danube, and, on the following, the whole army proceeded towards Olmütz, where the Austrian and Russian army were united and strong. The Emperor Alexander passed along the files of soldiers, reminding them of the easy triumph the people of the North might achieve over soldiers, enervated by nature and habits, fighting in winter under an inclement sky; and General Kutusow, in a more arrogant tone, anticipated little glory, since the enemy would fly at the first sight of the standards of Russia. Sixty-five thousand Muscovites, and eighteen thousand Germans, were ready to commence the attack, and on the 28th November they quitted Olmütz to meet the French. Bonaparte, however, ordered his troops to fall back, as he expected the arrival of more legions, and was seeking more advantageous ground for battle. The French arrived on the field of Austerlitz on the 1st December, and there halted as night drew near; the two armies prepared for battle on the following day. The field was well adapted for the manœuvres of large

the Emperor Francis was popular: his reception in Hungary at that time having been simply the effect of compassion, and the hereditary loyalty of the people. The Viennese, composed of a mixed population of Bohemians, Flemings, Italians, English, Irish, Spaniards, and Germans, have no spirit of patriotism, but look to their sovereign as their chief; and the Emperor Francis took good care to secure their approbation by throwing all obnoxious measures on his ministers, and courting the lowest people by vulgar jokes, speaking their dialect, and professing a contempt for

learning. All stated by General Colletta respecting the police, criminal code, &c., is full of errors, the code being one of the most enlightened, and the police one of the most unjust in Europe; and the events of 1848, with the present unhappy state of the Austrian dominions, sufficiently prove the impolicy as well as injustice of this paternal system of government; the practical meaning of which is, to keep the mass of the people intellectually children, in order to enable the few to enjoy power.—*An ex-Minister of the Viennese Cabinet.*

bodies of troops; there was level ground for the cavalry, with heights rising one behind the other, as if formed for military evolutions, and lakes, woods, and broken ground, all available for the conqueror. In the centre of the Russian line, a point of observation, called the hill of Pratzen, sloping down towards the plain on the right, and united with the broken ground on the left, was occupied by the Russians during the night, when numerous fires showed that large bodies of troops were bivouacking there. But in the morning, the troops having been ordered to move without calculating the right moment, the height was left unprotected, and almost without soldiers, whilst the Russian columns on the left wing were yet entangled in the intricate ground above described. Those of the right wing meanwhile were ranged in order of battle in the plain. Bonaparte perceiving the enemy's error, ordered three legions to advance in double-quick time, and commanded that the Austrian and Russian troops should be attacked along their whole line, and turning to those near him, remarked that the battle though hardly commenced was already won; the weak position of the enemy at Pratzen being thus completely broken, both wings were routed in flank and front. The larger corps of the Russians, that on the left formed in column, were prevented from deploying by the buildings, lakes, and other obstacles. They, therefore, remained a mark for slaughter, exposed to the fire of the French artillery, and the greater their discipline and valour, the more were killed; but at last, impelled by the natural instinct of self-preservation, they quitted their position, and each sought safety in flight. The lakes were both frozen over, but the ice was not strong enough to bear the weight of horses or men; despair or necessity, however, induced several to attempt a passage, but, obliged to remain on the ice, they were captured or killed. The annihilation of the left wing weakened the right and centre, and threw them into confusion, while the certainty of victory doubled the courage and strength of those on the other side; the battle would have ended sooner had the valour of the Russians allowed the enemy to obtain so easy a triumph; the contest, therefore, lasted the whole day. The Russian drums at length beat a retreat, and the advanced posts of the allied army were driven back several miles in the rear of their first encampment, while the

French army reposed from their successes on the field where they had conquered. By the generosity of Bonaparte, the Russian army was permitted to return home; and the envoys of the Emperors of Austria and France having met at Presburg to settle the terms, the following conditions were agreed to on the 26th December 1805, which I here mention, because important to our History:—"Peace. That the Venetian States, possessed by Austria by the treaties of Campoformio and Luneville, be added to the kingdom of Italy; that the kingdoms of Bavaria and Würtemberg, and the Duchy of Baden, be increased by Austrian cities and territory, as a recompense for the confederation with France; that the kingdom and the King of Italy, and of the new States of Piombino and Lucca, be acknowledged by the Emperor of Austria."

Nothing was stipulated for the allies of Austria; the army of Alexander was to return to Russia by the road dictated by the conqueror. The hostilities with Great Britain to continue as before, and Naples to be abandoned to her fate; in an evil hour for her, since the wrath of Bonaparte was great against the House of Bourbon, as was proved by a bulletin (as he called his observations on the war), in which he mentioned: "Having sent St. Cyr with a powerful army to punish the treachery of the Queen of Naples, and to hurl from her throne a woman who, with the most hardened effrontery, had so often been guilty of profaning all that man holds most sacred; that the intercessions once used by a foreign potentate would now be of no avail, for the dignity of France could not suffer such perfidy to go unpunished, even if she had to commence a new war which was to last thirty years; that the Bourbons of Naples had therefore ceased to reign, and their fall was occasioned by the last act of treachery on the part of the queen, who might go to London and swell the number of conspirators there."

It is with astonishment that we survey the rapid course of events just related; how on the 17th October the fortress of Ulm fell into the hands of the French, and the largest army of Germany yielded themselves prisoners; and how on the 26th of that same month, the King of Naples ratified the league with the House of Austria, which was already conquered; how, on the 13th November, the French occupied Vienna, the metropolis of the empire, the new levies of Austrians and Russians being unable to defend

it ; and how, seven days later, the King of Naples received the English and Muscovite fleets in his ports, thus publishing his hostility to France, and making his broken faith irrevocable ; and how the Peace of Presburg following immediately, Neapolitan troops, in further proof of hostility, continued upon the frontiers of the kingdom, ready with the English to make an incursion into the States of Italy. All these acts of folly were produced by the blind hatred towards France entertained by the sovereigns of Naples, the pliant servility of their ministers, and the universal ignorance which prevailed throughout the country.

The army of St. Cyr, destined to conquer Naples, was thirty-two thousand strong, and was joined on the road by other troops, placed under Marshal Massena as commander-in-chief. They marched in three columns, that of the centre, consisting of fifteen thousand soldiers, the left of twelve thousand, and the third column of ten thousand Italians, all approaching the kingdom by long day's marches. Joseph Bonaparte, brother of Napoleon, accompanied the army, with the titles of prince of the empire and lieutenant of the Emperor of the French ; and thus vengeance, conquest, and a new sovereign, were rapidly advancing towards Naples. The Russian and English generals, on hearing the tidings, which succeeded one another, of the seizure of Vienna, the battle of Austerlitz, the Peace of Presburg, and the approach of the French army to the kingdom, met in council in the city of Teano, there to deliberate whether to defend or abandon Naples. Lascey and Greig were inclined for this last proposal ; Andres, a Russian general, reminded them of the conditions of the alliance, the confidence placed in them by the King of Naples, the certain loss of his throne if abandoned in these difficulties, and the cowardice and disgrace of flying before an enemy who was yet unseen, with the discredit which would be attached to the names of the sovereigns of Russia and England should they turn their backs on a prince in his greatest need, who had been persuaded into the alliance rather than joined it of his own free will ; and using other equally generous arguments, he endeavoured to persuade them to remain in Naples, if not to conquer to fight ; and if not to save the kingdom for the Bourbons, to pay the debt of friendship. But the opinion of the two commanders-in-chief prevailing, Andres



added : " History will record that I sat among you, but that I voted against you."

Lasecy wrote to General Damas, who, as second in command, was at the head of the Neapolitan forces, that not being able to defend the whole line of frontier with so small an army, he proposed to encamp on the ground between Gravina and Matera. A few days later, the Russian ambassador informed the Neapolitan Government, that as the Muscovite troops must quit the kingdom of Naples, they hoped (adding insult to breach of faith) to restore the neutrality between France and the Two Sicilies. The English and Russians therefore departed unscathed, abandoning the encampments on the frontiers, burning the bridges of boats on the Garigliano, and marching in the order and with the haste of a retreat. They embarked in the ports of Puglia, the Russians for Corfu, the English for Sicily. The English army, however, returning to the frontiers, endeavoured under the cloak of friendship to gain possession of the fortress of Gaeta ; but the general who commanded there, the Prince of Hesse Philipstadt, repulsed them first by messages and despatches, and finally by arms.

When the Royal Family of Naples perceived the prospect before them, and the dangers with which they were surrounded, that they had been omitted in the treaties of peace, slighted by the representatives of the kings their allies, and left alone with the recollections of their past transgressions, they trembled for their personal safety. A council was called, where the king expressed himself resigned to his ill fortune, and declared his sole escape to be Sicily, and that his hopes for his kingdom rested in the future. Prince Francis, timid and inexperienced, remained silent. The pusillanimous advisers of the king, although inwardly resolved to abandon their unhappy sovereign, supported his opinion, because safe and giving least trouble. But the queen, always courageous in adversity, reminded them of the prodigies of 1799, and that the champions of that time were yet alive ; that treason within the kingdom had expired with the traitors ; that the army was on the frontier and well organized, and fresh levies just raised : she therefore declared it was still possible to conquer, and easy to defend themselves ; resistance was at least certain glory, while it was a disgrace to abandon the throne as fugitives. She proposed

to divide the care of the defence of the kingdom between Prince Francis in the Abruzzi, Prince Leopold in Calabria, herself in the Terra di Lavoro and the metropolis, and the king in Sicily. This proposal reconciled conflicting opinions, as it allowed the timid a safe asylum in Palermo, and the ambitious a wide field for agitation, and was therefore approved. She did not reflect that the times had changed since 1799 ; that when a people's attachment has been abused, it dies of itself ; that the rewards for loyalty had been confounded with rewards for crimes and infamy ; and that the term Holy Faith was now a term of reproach and outrage. But as the real sentiments of the people seldom reach the ears of princes, the queen, believing in a renewal of the popular prodigies, summoned the most notorious leaders of that party to her presence, Fra Diavolo, Sciarpa, Nunziante, and Rodio, and with a fascination of which she was fully mistress, desired them to collect their followers, and to send them into the provinces.

Matters were proceeding thus in the palace, when Marshal Massena reached Spoleto, and ordered a manifesto (called the order of the day) to be read to the soldiers, setting forth his intentions to conquer the kingdom of Naples, by whomsoever defended, and after the customary enjoinders respecting honour, glory, and discipline, he recommended them to respect the people and the laws. A proclamation of Prince Joseph, from Ferrentino, was couched in these words: "Neapolitans, your king has broken faith and treaties, and, in order to show Europe what is due to public faith, the Emperor Napoleon, as just as he is powerful, will inflict a punishment equal to the offence. You did not share in his perfidy, and you shall not share his punishment. The French soldiers will be to you like brothers."

He likewise addressed the soldiers thus: "We will fight the Russians and English ; we will punish the Court which has invited them, in contempt of the most solemn oaths and stipulations ; but we will respect the people. If the allies of the king do not await our arrival, if the Neapolitans do not desire to participate in the guilt of a court which has always betrayed their interests, the sole glory left us will be to maintain our discipline."

These proclamations were read by all ; Cardinal Fabrizio Ruffo, formerly leader of the Holy Faith, was sent to Prince Joseph, but

was ill received, and proceeded to Paris ; the Court of Naples, however, fearing lest the name of the ambassador might prejudice the reception of the embassy, sent the Duke di Santa Teodora, a new name, and one belonging to no party. He was accepted, but when he declared that the king had only broken the neutrality with France, because forced to do so by the Russians and English (a gross and palpable falsehood), the French Emperor broke up the conference, telling him he might remain or depart as he pleased, but that he forbade him to speak with him again of terms. Santa Teodora returned to Naples and related what he had seen and heard ; he was then ordered to remain near the person of Joseph, and wait his opportunity to propose peace. The French columns continued to advance, and had almost reached the frontiers of the kingdom ; no hope, therefore, remained but in the people.

A little chapel, dedicated to St. Anna, stood in the city, near the sea, upon the shores of the Chiaja ; it had long been neglected and shut up, and looked like a deserted hut rather than a temple ; but in consequence of the earthquake of that year, it had risen to so much sanctity in the popular estimation, that the devout enlarged the walls, covered them with offerings, and went there in crowds on feast days, to pray and sing hymns. To this chapel, accordingly, the queen with the royal family repaired on an appointed day, in a procession on foot, and attired in mourning with other signs of penance and grief, and bearing in their hands rich gifts for the sanctuary ; an immense concourse of people followed, but the object aimed at failed : for the queen, remembering the valour displayed by the populace in 1799, had hoped to excite them to a similar war, but she observed, that at the cry of " Long live the king ! May the French perish !" which was shouted by persons hired for the purpose, there followed silence, except where some devout spectators ejaculated prayers to St. Anna. About this time the commissaries returned, who had been sent into the provinces to excite risings, and reported that their hopes had been disappointed, that the populace were indifferent to the troubles of the palace, and the landed proprietors were only arming themselves to prevent the recurrence of the disorders of 1799. Brigadier Rodio, who had been the most lavish in his promises, was the most sincere and earnest in his endeavours to undeceive the king and queen. Fra

Diavolo, however, collected a band of two hundred ruffians, and with them wasted, ravaged, and plundered along the banks of the Garigliano.

The House of Bourbon was struck down by an inevitable blow ; and the sovereigns, reduced to the necessity of flight, left the kingdom, and escaped for their lives into Sicily, trusting to changes in time and fortune. The king immediately departed for Palermo, on the 23d January 1806, leaving his eldest son, Francis, regent of the kingdom ; the soldiers, meantime, were withdrawn from the frontiers, and encamped around Naples ; the troops of volunteers were disbanded, and all the country, as far as Capua, left unguarded, the fortresses alone retaining their garrisons. Shortly afterwards the queen, at the approach of the enemy, perceiving the coldness of the people, despaired of being able to defend the kingdom, except in Calabria, where she trusted for defence to the rugged nature of the country and the warlike character of the inhabitants ; she therefore sent the regular troops (16,000 men) under General Damas to the defiles of Campotanesse, and on the 11th February she, with her children, and as many of the ministers as remained, with the most distinguished of her adherents, departed upon a ship of the line, whilst the two princes Francis and Leopold hastened by land to join the army of Calabria ; and passing through it, took up their quarters at Cosenza, from whence they roused the people to arms, by commands and entreaties.

The Regent published two proclamations before his departure ; one setting forth the perfidy of the enemy ; his obstinate refusal of terms, and his manifest intention of gaining possession of the country ; which was (he affirmed) the more perfidious, as the Court of Naples had always been amenable to terms, loyal, and disposed for conciliation and peace ; and further, that although the people were willing to sustain the claims of the throne by arms, the mild temper of the king would not permit him to allow his subjects to defy the rage and vengeance of a barbarous enemy ; therefore he commanded that the inhabitants of that part of the kingdom whence the soldiers had been withdrawn, should yield to their fate, and that, while cherishing in their hearts a constant attachment to the king (the master given them by God), they

should wait their liberation by the arms of Bourbon, which, powerful and resolute under his command, and that of his brother Prince Leopold, would destroy the French troops in Calabria ; and that he would then return to the capital, and resume the government of his beloved subjects.

These words, intended to deceive, only produced ridicule. The second proclamation appointed Don Diego Naselli Aragona lieutenant, and the Prince of Canosa (a worthy man, the father of the prince who bears a very opposite character) with the magistrate Michel Angelo Cianciulli to a council of regency.

The conquest was now certain, but several days had yet to intervene, for though the new king was secure of his kingdom, the State was still ruled by the authority of the old. The rapacious mob let loose upon the city, and without the restraints of law, either because none existed, or that it was defied by them, sure of pardon from the conqueror in the midst of the rejoicings for the conquest, or from policy, and because the guilt and the guilty are alike lost in numbers, menaced and terrified all honest citizens, whilst the regents, feeble old men, inexperienced in the art of governing the people in times of danger, afraid of the old king, and afraid of the new, stood looking on at what was passing before them, perplexed how to act. The partisans of the French met in secret to provide for their own safety and the tranquillity of the city, but without order or a leader, and differing in their sentiments and views, they wasted the hours fraught with dangers, which were flying rapidly by. All this produced excitement, consternation, and fear, but hope and joy predominated. It was a fortunate circumstance that the Bourbon leaders had fled, as well as that the populace were disputing among themselves, uncertain in their movements, and not knowing how to commence an outbreak, thus wasting time and opportunity.

The council of regency sent the Marquis Malaspina and the Duke di Campochiaro, ambassadors to Prince Joseph, to inform him of the authority confided to them by the royal edict, and to propose an armistice for two months ; but received in reply that the surrender of the fortresses was an absolute condition of peace, as well as that the gates of the city should be thrown open ; and threatening, if compliance were delayed, to make them, the regents,

responsible for every drop of French or Neapolitan blood spilt in so foolish and useless a war. Time and their fears were urgent; the French army was approaching the walls of Capua; and the ambassadors, therefore, agreed to the conditions by which alone public tranquillity could be restored, and person and property guaranteed: the surrender of all the fortresses and castles in the kingdom, free ingress into the metropolis, and submission to the conqueror. The alarm of a foreign war having ceased, the dangers from within the city increased from the approach of the French, and a rumour of treachery which had got abroad. The prisoners in the prisons mutinied, attempted to break their chains and burst the gates; and the Lazzaroni, with others already notorious in the sack of the city in 1799, collected in groups in the most frequented squares. Thus ended the 12th February, and many indications threatened that the coming dawn would probably rise on the spoil and massacre of the city. That night, however, in a meeting of the partisans of France, one of them, a man of resolute character, thus addressed his comrades:—

“Our own life or death, with the peace of the city, rests in our hands. The council of regency is an empty form of government, without influence or power; the tribunals are closed, the police, warned by their evil consciences, are in concealment; there is neither king, laws, magistrates, order, nor public force; society is thus dissolved; every citizen must provide for his own safety; he who happens to be first in arms to-morrow will conquer. I propose that we keep awake and armed, and before the dawn of day, that we hasten to the houses of our associates, unite them, and, proceeding onwards, add to our numbers and strength. The Piazza Medina will be our place of meeting; from thence we can divide in patrols, march through the city, collect the well-disposed, disperse the bad, and put down those who refuse to submit. If, at the first ray of sunshine a hundred of us are found together, the city and victory are ours; but if twenty, or even still fewer Lazzaroni get before us, calling out to sack the city and begin fighting, we shall have to endure war, robbery, and massacre.” This bold proposal met with approbation; but some few who were strict observers of law suggested, with a show of plausibility, that they ought to inform the regents of these dangers, and obtain a decree

or permission to arm the respectable inhabitants ; at the same time offering themselves to be the bearers of the message ; but the first speaker replied : “ You may go and harangue the regents. I go to rouse my comrades, and as I do not expect any success from your mission, I shall be the first to-morrow ready armed for the preservation of the city.”

The council of regency, terrified by the menaces of the populace, as well as by the bold language of the partisans of the French, granted all they asked, issuing an edict which was printed and posted up during the night ; by it they exhorted the citizens to remain quiet, and the gentlemen of every *rione* were empowered to arm and patrol the city, as a public force to defend the citizens. Thus, on the morning of the 13th February, some thousands of the most respectable citizens were in arms, marching in detachments through the streets and squares ; whilst the Lazzaroni in wonder and rage, accused the tardiness of their chiefs. The partisans of France were now armed, the very men who had been a short time before the partisans of the Republic, and had suffered imprisonment and exile. The recollection of their sufferings was still fresh, as well as their grief for the slaughter of 1799 ; many of the most ferocious of their persecutors, and all the judges of the Junta were within the city, and a powerful and friendly army at hand. The temptation was strong to revenge their wrongs, while vengeance could be accomplished with so much ease, to which they were urged by their just grievances, by an instinct natural to man, and certain impunity. But the virtue of the patriot forbade revenge, a guard was set on the houses of those who had been their persecutors, and the fears generated by the evil consciences of these bad men were tranquillized by the words and actions of those they had injured. The utility of a national guard in the midst of political convulsions was thus tested, and it was re-formed during the civil commotions which afterwards ensued ; they saved the city three times, and after the horrors of 1799 the provinces followed the example of the metropolis.

This state of things lasted only two days, for at midday on the 14th February, the first French squadrons reached the city gates. How many passions contended for mastery in the breasts of the

people ! how many interests were at stake ! some fled, others concealed themselves, and others again went out to meet the conqueror. Suspicion, hope, and ambition by turns agitated the hearts of the Neapolitans.

END OF VOL. I.









